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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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5 July 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

SOVIET LEADERSHIP TELEGRAM TO ZHIVKOV, FLILPOV

AU101326 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Dear comrades, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, on behalf of the Soviet people, express the most sincere gratitude to you, to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for the cordial congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory achieved by the Soviet people in World War II.

The Soviet-Bulgarian relations, based on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are fruitfully and dynamically developing in the interest of our two countries and to the benefit of the entire socialist community.

The Soviet communists and all Soviet people will do everything within their power also in the future for the further consolidation of the fraternal alliance and of the indestructible friendship, as well as for the comprehensive cooperation between our two parties, states, and peoples.

We wish you, dear comrades, as well as to the Bulgarian communists and to all people of Bulgaria great successes in building a developed socialist society and a worthy preparation for the 13th BCP Congress.

Signed: The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow, the Kremlin.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN-MONGOLIAN COMMUNIQUE ON ZHIVKOV VISIT

AU081815 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jun 85 pp 1, 4

["Joint Communiqué on the Official and Friendly Visit of the Party-State Delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Mongolian People's Republic"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], a Bulgarian party-state delegation led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, made an official and friendly visit to the MPR from 2 to 5 June.

The delegation laid a wreath at the tombs of the founders of the MPRP and the MPR Sukhe Bator and Kh. Choybalsan.

The guests visited industrial plants, agricultural sites, and cultural enterprises, and were briefed on the Mongolian people's life and achievements in constructing socialism.

The warm hospitality, cordial meetings with the working people, and the meeting of Bulgarian-Mongolian friendship in Ulaanbaatar turned into a new and bright demonstration of the fraternal feelings and close cooperation that link the two countries.

A long-range program on developing and strengthening economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgarian and the MPR, and a plan on cultural cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR for the 1986-1990 period were signed during the visit.

Talks took place between Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the MPR. The talks took place in a cordial atmosphere and a spirit of a full mutual understanding and unity of views on all matters discussed.

The following persons took part in the talks on the Bulgarian side:

Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Georgi Karamanev, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of production and trade with consumer goods; Angel Balevski, member of the BCP Central Committee and the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and chairman of the Academy of Sciences; Lyubomir Popov, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Simeon Pravchanov and Goran Goranov, aides to Comrade Todor Zhivkov; and Kryustyu Eftimov, Bulgarian ambassador to the MPR.

The following persons took part in the talks on the Mongolian side:

Dumaagiyn Sodnom, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Damingiyn Gombojab, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary; Myatabyn Peljee, member of the MPRP Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Mongolian side of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Mongolian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation; Lodongiyn Rinchin, candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee and head of a Central Committee department; Choydogiyn Tseren [spelling as transliterated], member of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the MPR; Daramiyn Yondon [spelling as transliterated], member of the MPRP Central Committee and first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Legdengiyn Damdinjab, candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee and Mongolian ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The delegations mutually briefed each other on the implementation of the decisions of the 12th BCP and 18th MPRP Congresses and on the tasks solved by the two countries at the present stage of constructing socialism. Bulgarian-Mongolian relations were reviewed and prospects were marked for their further development.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Jambyn Batmonh noted with satisfaction that relations between the BCP and the MPRP and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR are constantly developing and strengthening on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in accordance with their common goals and tasks, and in the spirit of the 1967 Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries.

It was noted that the agreements signed at the highest level are successfully being implemented.

The close cooperation between the BCP and the MPRP is a determining factor in Bulgarian-Mongolian relations. The two parties will further strengthen their fraternal relations at all levels and expand the exchange of experience on matters of mutual interest.

The mutual interest was stressed in enriching contacts between trade unions, and between youth, women's, and other public organizations. The significance was pointed out of cooperation between separate okrugs, aymaks [as published], cities, and working collectives for further strengthening relations between the two peoples.

Mutual readiness was expressed to intensify cooperation between the mass media of the two countries, as well as in the cultural, educational, and health protection sectors.

It was pointed out that the economic and scientific-technical relations between Mongolia and Bulgaria are developing in a fruitful manner.

In conformity with the long-term program signed, the two countries will pursue their cooperation in joint geological-prospecting work and in processing the mineral resources of the MPR within the framework of the "MONGOLBULGARMETAL" joint enterprise, as well as in the agricultural sector, in the food industry, and in the production of construction materials by expanding the existing enterprises, reorganizing and modernizing them, and by improving the technical equipment and the technological methods so as to raise the quality of production in the industrial enterprises built in the MPR with the technical assistance of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The program envisages a further expansion of the exchange of goods and an improvement of the mutual trade structure, as well as a development of cooperation in the scientific-technical sectors, and the training of Mongolian cadres.

The Mongolian side expressed its gratitude to the BCP Central Committee and to the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the fraternal assistance and support accorded in the construction and exploitation of industrial and agricultural enterprises, which are of great importance for the development of the national economy of the MPR.

The two sides confirmed the necessity of perfecting the international socialist division of labor for the purpose of accelerating the scientific-technical progress of the CEMA member-countries; and in order to ensure a highly effective development of their national economies. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR think that the CEMA summit meeting in Moscow opened a new stage in the many-sided, fruitful cooperation among these countries, as well as in increasing the efficiency of implementing the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR stressed the primary importance they both attach to comprehensive cooperation with the great Soviet Union and with the other socialist community member-countries. They expressed their firm resolve to continue to devote efforts also in the future for the consolidation of the alliance, cohesion, and unity of action of the socialist community member-countries, which are the chief mainstay of peace, democracy and progress.

In discussing international problems the two party and state leaders expressed their serious concern at the exacerbation of the international atmosphere due to the most reactionary, imperialist circles--above all, to the United States--which are trying to stop and to turn back historical development. In their striving to disrupt the existing military-strategic balance and to achieve military superiority, they are expanding an unprecedented arms race. Their efforts to militarize outer space, which actually increases the danger of a devastating nuclear conflagration, are devoted precisely to this target.

This policy of confrontation and tension is opposed by the socialist community member-countries with their consistent policy of peace and peaceful coexistence with different social systems, based on principle. The two sides once more stressed the topical character of the initiatives launched by the Prague declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Member-Countries, held in January 1983, as well as by the Moscow declaration of the party and state leaders of the seven socialist countries adopted in June 1983, and by the declaration of CEMA member-countries, adopted at the summit meeting in Moscow in June 1984. These initiatives conform with the interests of all nations and propose opportunities for settling all questions through negotiations on the basis of equality and equal security.

The proposals on not being the first to use nuclear weapons, on freezing the nuclear arsenals, on the complete and total banning of nuclear arms tests, on adopting norms of behavior for the nuclear states, on signing a treaty of mutual non-use of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations between Warsaw Pact and NATO member-states, on not increasing but reducing military expenditures, on rescuing Europe from chemical weapons, and on creating nuclear-free zones in Europe, and so forth--all these proposals are inspired by a farsighted and realistic approach.

The two sides expressed their interest in the success of the new negotiations started in Geneva between the USSR and the United States in conformity with the agreement achieved on the subject and goals of the negotiations--that the questions of space and nuclear weapons should be discussed in their mutual inter-connection. The two sides think that it is a question of vital importance that these negotiations should lead to the adoption of specific, mutually acceptable steps for stopping the arms race on earth and for preventing an arms race in space, as well as to the limitation and final elimination of nuclear weapons arsenals. The common conviction was confirmed that in order to achieve positive results, good will and a constructive approach to the negotiations should be displayed by the United States.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR entirely support the active, peaceloving foreign policy of the USSR. The two sides highly appreciate the proposals submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, aimed at the consolidation of peace and security. It was stressed that these proposals are of basic importance for the consolidation of the entire international atmosphere. These proposals are a new, convincing proof of the USSR's sincere interest in the achievement of positive results at the Soviet-American negotiations being held in Geneva.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR pointed out the historical role of the Warsaw Pact Organization, which for as long as 30 years has reliably served as an effective instrument of protection for the achievements of socialism, as a guarantor of peace and security in Europe and all over the world. The Warsaw meeting of highranking party and state leaders from Warsaw Pact member-countries in April once more confirmed the resolve of the fraternal socialist countries to do everything within their power to prevent a nuclear war conflagration.

The two sides stressed that the success of the Stockholm Conference Confidence-Building Measures, Security, and Disarmament in Europe depends upon the readiness of all participating states to achieve essential agreements for the adoption of mutually complementary measures in connection with consolidating mutual trust and security--measures that should be of an international law character, as well as of a military-technical character. Such agreements must serve the prevention of the threat of nuclear war and the reduction of military confrontation in the spirit of the Helsinki final document.

It was pointed out that the victory over Hitler-fascism and Japanese militarism, whose 40th anniversary was celebrated this year by all world progressive and democratic forces, is of world historical importance. This victory marked the establishment of the powerful socialist community and opened a new stage of development in the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation.

The intensified revival of the forces of revanchism is a cause of concern. These forces are openly calling for a revision of the postwar territorial and sociopolitical realities existing in Europe.

The MPR expresses its full support for the constructive and peaceloving policy conducted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria and for its efforts to adopt specific steps in order to transform the Balkans into a nuclear free zone, into an area of peace and security of good neighborly relations, and cooperation. The Mongolian side believes that the implementation of this idea is likely to represent an important step forward along the path of consolidating peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR noted with concern that the situation in Asia is becoming increasingly tense. The two sides denounced the actions of imperialism, militarism, and reaction, aimed at fanning hotbeds of tension and of creating new, military-strategic blocs in Asia, aimed at transforming the strategically important areas of the Asian Continent into a place d'armes [preceding words in French] of imperialist aggression.

It was stressed and application of measures of mutual confidence in the Far East represents a sensible alternative for reducing tension in Asia.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly appreciates the consistent and active foreign policy of the MPRP, aimed at the consolidation of peace and security in Asia. The Bulgarian side expresses its full support for the proposal of the MPR submitted in 1981 to sign a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations between the state of Asia and the Pacific Zone, and welcomes the Declaration on the People's Right to Peace, which was adopted by the 39th UN General Assembly, at the initiative of the MPR.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR believe that the normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC, as well as between the PRC and the other socialist countries based on good neighborly relations and cooperation is in the interest not only of the peoples of these countries, but in the interest of consolidating peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. The two sides are unanimous in stating that the normalization of these mutual relations should by no means affect the sovereign rights and legitimate interests of third countries.



The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR resolutely support the struggle waged by the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos against the aggressive efforts and armed interventions of the imperialist hegemonists and other reactionary forces. The two countries highly appreciate the efforts of the SRV, Lao People's Democratic Republic, and of the PRK, aimed at stabilizing the situation in Southeast Asia and at transforming this area into a zone of peace, good neighborly relations, and cooperation.

The two sides confirmed their staunch support for the just struggle waged by the Korean people for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and for the reunification of the country on a peaceful, democratic basis, without any interference from abroad. The two sides support the proposal of the DPRK to reduce the tension existing on this peninsula, for the creation of favorable conditions likely to contribute to the reunification of Korea.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR once more confirmed their solidarity with the people and government of Afghanistan in their struggle for the defense of the country's revolutionary achievements. The necessity was stressed of an urgent political settlement of the situation created around Afghanistan on the basis of the well-known proposals submitted by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Support was expressed for the peaceloving policy of the Republic of India, and the efforts of the reactionary forces and of their instigators, aimed against the national unity and territorial integrity of this country, were denounced.

The two sides once again expressed their support for the proposals to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and for this purpose, to convene an international conference in 1986 in accordance with decisions of the UN General Assembly.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR expressed their concern at the explosive, dangerous situation in the Middle East stemming from the aggressive policy of Zionism and imperialism. The two sides once more confirmed their stand, based on principle, on the comprehensive, just, and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict and pointed out that the only sensible method of solving this conflict is to accept the Soviet proposal on convening an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, which is the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

The two sides expressed themselves for the immediate halt of military actions between Iran and Iraq, as well as for a peaceful solution to their controversial issues. The two sides think that this war is causing tremendous damage and losses to both states and solely serves the interests and goals of imperialism.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR expressed their great concern about the dangerous development of the situation in Central America and resolutely denounced the gross interference of the imperialist forces in the domestic affairs of the states situated in that area. The two sides insist upon an immediate stop to the hostile campaign of threats and boycott against socialist Cuba. The two sides confirmed their irrevocable solidarity with the struggle

of the Nicaraguan people in defending the achievements of the revolution, as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country, they call for the liquidation of tension in this part of the world. The two sides are supporting the efforts of the Contadora group and of other states for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Central America.

The aggressive actions of the racist regime in the Republic of South Africa were resolutely denounced. These aggressive actions are directed against the independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and against the other "frontline" states. The two sides expressed once more their full support for the national liberation struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO], which is their only legitimate representative, and insisted on the prompt and unconditional implementation of Resolution No 435 issued by the UN Security Council in 1978 on the subject. The two sides categorically reject the attempts of Pretoria to impose a puppet government for the purpose of postponing the granting of real independence to Namibia.

Solidarity was expressed with the peoples struggling for their national independence and social progress, and against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR stressed the importance of the Nonaligned Movement as an important, positive factor in international relations and pointed out its increasing role in the struggle to prevent the danger of war, to stop the arms race, and to consolidate peace, in the struggle for international cooperation based on equal rights.

The two sides welcomed the joint initiative of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden to limit and liquidate nuclear weapons.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR stressed the necessity of intensifying the activities of the United Nations, the 40th anniversary of which will be celebrated in 1985. The two sides expressed their readiness also in the future to continue their support for the efforts of the United Nations, aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war, at restraining the arms race, and developing relations of peace and cooperation among all states in accordance with the UN Charter.

The two sides pointed out the unprecedented upsurge of the antiwar mass movement spreading throughout the world, in which representatives of different classes and social groups, of different political and religious movements are participating. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR declare themselves in favor of a further consolidation of all progressive, democratic, and antiwar forces in the struggle to eliminate the danger of nuclear disaster, in favor of peacefully settling all controversial questions, for the purpose of guaranteeing the sacred human right--the right to peace and life.

The growing influence and prestige of the international communist and workers movement was pointed out. The struggle waged by the communist and workers parties for peace and social progress is in the interest of their own peoples, in the interest of all mankind. The two sides expressed their firm resolve also

in the future to make their contribution to the further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the communist and workers parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as to the development of communists' cooperation with other progressive and democratic forces in the joint struggle for preventing the danger of war, for consolidating national independence, as well as for achieving the social progress for all nations.

The two sides unanimously noted that the official, friendly visit of a party and state delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the MPR will give new impetus to the expansion and intensification of the relations of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the BCP and the MPRP, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR, and that it will contribute to the consolidation of the unity of the socialist community member-countries, to the consolidation of the unity of the forces of peace and progress.

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, invited Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the MPR Great People's Hural Presidium, to pay an official, friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Ulaan Baataar, 5 June 1985

CSO: 2200/157

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV THANKS KIM IL-SONG FROM AIRPLANE

AU112013 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jun 85 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent from his airplane the following telegram to Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and DPRK president:

"Leaving your wonderful country I would like to express once again our gratitude to you, the WPK Central Committee, and the government and people of the DPRK for the cordial reception and warm hospitality rendered to us.

"The party-state delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria had moving meetings with the working people in Pyongyang and Nampo. We rejoice at the successes of the people of the DPRK in constructing socialism under the leadership of the WPK Central Committee. We are confident that the results of our visit will give a new impetus to further strengthening the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interest of world peace and socialism.

"I take this opportunity, dear Comrade Kim Il-song, to wish you and the heroic and diligent Korean people new and even greater successes in socialist construction and in the struggle for the peaceful unification of your country."

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

LEADERS GREET DPRK COUNTERPARTS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU181259 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 17 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, and to Kang Song-san, chairman of the DPRK Administration Council [title as published].

Comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Bulgarian people and on our own behalf we convey to the WPK Central Committee, to the Central People's Council, and to the Administrative Council of the DPRK, as well as to the people of the DPRK, the most sincere congratulations and cordial wishes on the occasion of the first anniversary of the signing of a friendship and cooperation treaty between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the DPRK.

The friendship and cooperation treaty marked the beginning of a higher, new stage in the development of relations between our two countries, and represents a reliable basis for the further, dynamic expansion and intensification of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and Korean peoples.

During the recent official and friendly visit paid by a party and state delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the DPRK, we confirmed our joint will to pursue our efforts with indefatigable energy in order to implement the treaty and to transform it into living deeds.

There is no doubt that the Bulgarian people and the DPRK people will as selflessly and as energetically as ever continue to cooperate on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, that they will proceed along the path of peace and socialism with as much confidence as in the past.

On the occasion of the remarkable anniversary of signing the friendship and cooperation treaty between the People's Republic of Bulgarian and the DPRK, we wish you and the fraternal Korean people new successes in building socialism and in the struggle for a peaceful reunification of your motherland.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

KIM IL-SONG GREETES ZHIVKOV ON TREATY ANNIVERSARY

AU190910 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, has received the following message from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee and president of the DPRK:

On behalf of the WPK Central Committee, the DPRK Government, the Korean people, and on my personal behalf I send to you, and through you to the BCP Central Committee, and the Government and people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, warmest greetings and fraternal wishes on the first anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the DPRK and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the DPRK and the People's Republic of Bulgaria became an expression of our firm willingness to steadily strengthen and expand traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples, formed in the common struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of the great cause of socialism and communism. Its vital force was confirmed even better during your recent visit to our country.

We are deeply gratified with the fact that according to the principles of this treaty and in the spirit of the agreements reached during our repeated meetings, the friendly relations between our countries will comprehensively develop in all areas of politics, the economy, and culture. We are convinced that these relations will further develop for the benefit of the two countries, and in the interest of the cause of peace throughout the world, socialism and communism.

I take this opportunity to wish you and the fraternal Bulgarian people even greater progress in the struggle for accelerating the construction of the developed socialist society, and for greeting the 13th BCP Congress with new working successes.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

BCP CC POLITBURO APPROVES ZHIVKOV VISIT TO DPRK

AU211832 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text] Sofia, 21 Jun (BTA)--The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party gave a hearing to the information of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, on the official friendly visit of the Bulgarian party and state delegation to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which took place from May 30 through June 2, 1985 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Central People's Committee of the DPRK.

Politburo gave a high assessment to the results of the talks between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kim Il-song, secretary general of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the DPRK, which passed in a cordial friendly atmosphere of unity on the issues discussed. They will contribute to the further promotion of the fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres on the basis of the principles of Marxism, Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The agreement signed for trade and payments for the 1986-1990 period will secure the further broadening of bilateral trade and economic and techno-scientific cooperation.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Workers' Party of Korea, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are unanimous in their assessment of the present international situation aggravated through the fault of the most reactionary imperialist circles. They resolutely support the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, directed toward stopping the arms race and disarmament, toward averting the threat of a nuclear war, toward the preservation and promotion of the process of detente and toward consolidating international security and the mutually advantageous cooperation among the peoples. The two countries and parties stressed their resolution to continue to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and of the international communist and workers' movement in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism.

The Politburo confirmed its invariable support of the initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for establishing a climate of trust and security on the Korean Peninsula, and for uniting the country by peaceful means and on a democratic basis.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV VISITS EXHIBITION, PAINTERS UNION MEETING

AU200756 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 19 Jun 85

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited with great interest the exhibition of International Realistic Art held in Sofia.

After the visit he attended a meeting with the leadership of the Union of Bulgarian Painters at which he expressed his high appreciation for the [words indistinct] of the Bulgarian painters and for their convincing demonstration of the realistic trend in Bulgarian figurative art and painting, for the civic and political orientation of this art which is very close to the problems of our time.

Svetling Rusev, people's painter and chairman of the Bulgarian Painters Union, briefed the high-ranking guest on the preparations for the forthcoming 6th congress of the union.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished the congress success and stressed the exceptionally great creative and public activities of the Painters Union and its indefatigable efforts in joining together all generations of painters around the Leninist April line of the BCP and the party policy on the democratization of figurative arts and on having them contribute to the implementation of the program for the nationwide socialist education and to the construction of a developed socialist society in our country.

Comrade Zhivkov pointed out the increased prestige of Bulgarian (?classical) culture in the world and the fruitful international activities of the Bulgarian Painters Union.

The meeting which proceeded in an exceptionally cordial atmosphere was attended by Comrades Georgi Yordanov and Stoyan Mikhaylov.

CSO: 2200/160



BULGARIA

BULGARIA'S DYULGEROV SPEAKS AT TU CC PLENUM

AU111420 [Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD on 10 June 1985 carries on page 2 a 5,000-word report by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, delivered at the Eighth Plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions on 7 June in Sofia which was devoted to the "Work of Bulgarian Trade Unions in Worthy Preparations for the 13th BCP Congress."

Petur Dyulgerov's report concentrates on "priority trends and chief sectors" on which trade union work should be focused during the pre-congress period. His chief concern is devoted to plan fulfillment tasks "to the socialist competition of workers, those who toil in agriculture, and specialists working on the scientific and cultural front," as well as to improvement of "social labor productivity" in all sectors. Dyulgerov's report deals at length and in detail with the improvement of production quality, as well as with the "social tasks" of the trade unions in improving the workers' living and labor conditions, housing, mother and child care, recreation activities, and other social issues.

Dyulgerov further analyzes the state of work within enterprises on the basis of brigade organization, and points out "differentiated methods" of assessing work and competition results within individual enterprises and brigades. He stresses the following in this context: "If we want every worker, specialist, and brigade to manifest a lively interest and get involved in the pre-congress competition, the evaluation of work must be differentiated so that it exerts an equally strong impact upon the workers' elite with the highest achievements, as well as upon the large majority of working people with average results, including those who are not achieving the production tasks according to plan. Thus, there will be place for everyone within the ranks of the competition movement."

After concentrating on questions of scientific-technical progress, on the organizational, as well as educational role of the trade unions, Dyulgerov points out the necessity for trade unions to "renew their approach and methods of work," in view of the "basically new character of their tasks." He adds that great attention must be devoted to Todor Zhivkov's memorandum on trade union work. Referring to the memorandum, Dyulgerov states: "In the first place, we must attain an optimal businesslike approach in mapping out the

tasks and organizing their implementation. To put it more precisely, we do not intend to proceed along the path of endless meetings, sessions, and instructional conferences at various levels. We do not need fake activities which involve people in useless measures, in noisily propagated and crowded meetings and conferences. The memorandum expresses alarm at the fact that people's time is being wasted by engaging them in vain enterprises, and this is becoming a true social evil, a real disaster."

Dyulgerov closes his report by appealing to the trade unions to "establish an atmosphere of bold criticism and self-criticism, as well as a situation in which weaknesses and shortcomings and uncompromisingly unmasked, an atmosphere in which truth prevails." He also dwells on the necessity of consolidating working discipline, on strictly implementing all tasks and obligations.

In his report Petur Dyulgerov does not refer to any foreign policy issues, nor to any controversial problems.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

TODOR ZHIVKOV VISITS BLAGOEVGRAD OKRUG

AU211906 Sofia BTA in English 1814 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text]. Blagoevgrad, 21 Jun (BTA)--The meetings and talks which Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, had yesterday and today with the workers and youth of Blagoevgrad were warm and cordial.

Mr Todor Zhivkov met the members of the Bureau of the District Committee of the BCP and of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council. He gave a high assessment to the work of the district party organization in the implementation of the resolutions of the congress and pointed out that the district is developing successfully in all spheres.

Mr Todor Zhivkov officially opened the new cigarette factory in Blagoevgrad. This factory is an up-to-date enterprise with a high level of automation. It was constructed and set into operation for a very short period.

Later Mr the Secretary General [as received] of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, visited the lecturers and students of the higher pedagogical institute in the city. He also met the little members of the "Pioneer" Children's Organization at the district "Banner of Peace" centre and acquainted himself with the creative activities of the young artists.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 21 June carried the following additional information: "Comrade Todor Zhivkov was greeted with exceptional cordiality by thousands of people who had gathered on the Central Square of Blagoevgrad. Comrade Zhivkov laid a wreath at the monument of Dimitur Blagoev." "A short while ago Comrade Todor Zhivkov held a meeting with the organizers of the 'Alen Mak' international political song festival. Stoyan Mikhaylov also attended the meeting. Stanka Shopova, the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, read a detailed report on the tasks and goals of the 'Alen Mak' political song movement."]

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

BCP CC GREETES ANC CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

AU190859 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jun 85 p 6

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following message to the National Consultative Conference on the African National Congress [ANC]:

Dear comrades,

The BCP Central Committee sends most cordial and warm combat greetings to the participants in the National Consultative Conference of the ANC--the only legal representative of the South African people in their just struggle against Pretoria's racist regime.

Your conference is taking place under the conditions of the deep crisis of the vicious system of apartheid. As a response to the cruel repressions and oppression of the regime, the wave of people's indignation grows daily, the political actions intensify, and demonstrations, strikes, and other forms of struggle against racism grow as well, inspired by the ANC slogan "United in the Mass Actions."

The Bulgarian communists and the entire Bulgarian people decisively demand an immediate stop to the assistance rendered to the criminal regime of Pretoria by the most reactionary imperialist forces led by the United States, and again confirm their steady solidarity with the struggle of the South African people for creating a free, democratic, and just society in South Africa.

We sincerely wish your conference successful and fruitful work in the interest of the unity of all patriotic and democratic forces in South Africa and in the name of your just cause's victory.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

PETUR TANCHEV RECEIVES WPC'S CHANDRA 20 JUN

AU201852 Sofia BTA in English 1736 GMT 20 Jun 85

[Text] Sofia, 20 Jun (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council, received today Mr Romesh Chandra, chairman of the World Peace Council. Mr Petur Tanchev noted that the Bulgarian Agrarian Party supports the initiatives of the World Peace Movement and its efforts to mobilize and unite all political and social circles to whom peace is dear in a broad platform to combat the war threat. He spoke of the international activities of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party in support of peace and for the consolidation of the policy of detente, which is the only sensible alternative to the nuclear threat.

Mr Romesh Chandra emphasized upon the positive role played by Bulgaria's constructive and consistent policy on the Balkans, and upon the significance of the proposals made by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, on the adoption of measures for the turning the Balkans into a nuclear weapons-free zone.

The two sides emphasized upon the great importance of the new Soviet initiatives, announced by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, on the solving of the most pressing problem: a freeze and a reduction of the nuclear arsenals. These proposals are outlining the only course which will eliminate the militarization of space--a militarization that will start a new stage in the arms race and will place the world before an even greater threat.

It was noted that the situation in Europe and throughout the world will be considerably improved if successful results are obtained at the Geneva negotiations and the Stockholm Conference.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

DAILY NEGATIVELY REVIEWS TURKEY'S ECONOMY, SOCIETY

AU231334 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 19 June carries three articles which review negatively various aspects of Turkey's economy and society.

The first is a 600-word article on page 5 by Lyubomir Garbovski, entitled "Law Dressed in Police Uniform." The article deals with a recently adopted law in Turkey, which expands the authority of the Turkish police and "gives the police the same prerogatives for smashing and oppressing every attempt at democratization that the martial law commanders had in the past."

Gabrovski quotes various Turkish newspapers such as CUMHURIYE, which maintains that "giving almost unlimited rights to the police is a dangerous step toward liquidating the process of democratization in Turkey." Ludwig Fellermeier, "leader of the group of socialists in the European Parliament" is quoted as having said to the TURKISH DAILY NEWS that "the law is a violation of the European convention on human rights, and it will be negatively greeted in the West." The statement by Turgut Ozal, prime minister of Turkey, to THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE [date not given] to the effect that "There are no political prisoners in Turkey" is ridiculed by Gabrovski, who juxtaposes this statement with that of Akbulut Yildirim, Turkish minister of interior. "who stated that during the period between 19 March and 4 June of this year 600 persons have been arrested in Turkey because of leftist political activity, 124 for separatist political activity, and 12 for rightist political activity." Gabrovski concludes that "there is no doubt that these prisoners will be treated as criminals. Such are the prerogatives given to the police by the new law and the Turkish court system."

The second article is a 250-word report on page 6 by Stefka Purvanova entitled "High Prices That May You Dizzy." The article surveys the results of the "January 1980 Governmental Program on Overcoming the Crisis in the Turkish Economy," and quotes data to prove that the program has not achieved its goals. According to Purvanova, "the goal to lower inflation to 10 percent has been put off until 1989." He notes that since 1980, prices have gone up 68 percent, while "the real income of the workers has decreased 55 percent." Increased unemployment and foreign debts are other negative phenomena cited in the article.

The third item is a 700-word article on page 7 by Petur Prostranov, entitled "Who Will Prevail!?" The article deals with "new moments in Turkey's internal political panorama." The main idea presented by Prostranov is that "at present one can notice an intensification in the struggle between present and former politicians, accompanied by a constant decrease in the influence of the three political parties in the parliament--the Motherland Party, the the Populist Party, and the Party of the National Socialist Democracy." Prostranov describes the internal situation in these parties and a recent trend according to which members of the parliament are leaving their parties. Prostranov maintains that "polls organized by Turkish dailies have shown the ascent of extraparlamentarian opposition, which ever more insistently is voicing its demands." He describes various protest meetings, relates them to the existing economic conditions, and maintains that "the meetings have evoked concern in the governing circles." He concludes the article by saying that "the development of internal political life in Turkey indicates that events are emerging which will cause a further exacerbation in the struggle for power between the political parties in the parliament and the extraparlamentarian opposition."

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

BCP DAILY ON CEMA-EEC COOPERATION PROSPECTS

AU241822 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jun 85 p 4

[Nenko Seymenliyski article: "Hopeful Signals"]

[Text] On the eve of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act in Helsinki, a certain revival began in the relations of the two largest economic blocs in the world--CEMA and the EEC. This is a gratifying and hopeful event for the supporters of active business ties and mutually advantageous economic cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki. The EEC Council of Ministers reacted positively to the proposal of the CEMA member-countries to establish contacts and to develop cooperation between the two organizations.

As is becoming evident, the initiative for negotiations between CEMA and the EEC once more belongs to the socialist community. This fact reflects the constant and sincere aspiration of the socialist countries to maintain the trend of political and economic detente in Europe, as it was mapped out in Helsinki, but which froze and even regressed in recent years, a fact for which the socialist countries are certainly not responsible.

The efforts to establish official business contacts between CEMA and the EEC date back to the beginning of the seventies. An essential contribution was accomplished in this respect in 1976 when the CEMA member-countries submitted a draft agreement to the EEC and its member-countries. The draft agreement conformed to the principles and norms of international law and envisaged the elimination of discriminatory restrictions, as well as the settlement of trade and economic relations, the application of the most-favored-nation clause, and so forth. All these proposals were likely to create a lasting basis for the development of economic cooperation in Europe. After long delays, the EEC rejected the CEMA draft agreement, under the pretext that the EEC had no competence to conclude international agreements in the aforementioned sectors, and proposed that the official relations between the two organizations be restricted merely to questions of secondary importance, such as exchange of information, statistics, economic prognoses, and environmental protection measures. Even the compromise proposal submitted by CEMA in 1980 pertaining to the fact that the agreement with CEMA and its member-countries should be signed only by the EEC, [as published] was rejected once more in March 1981,



again under the pretext of "lack of competence" on the part of the EEC. This action revealed the desire of certain circles in the West to keep up the policy of discrimination toward the socialist countries and to apply a "differentiated approach" in relations with them.

The last 4 years marked full stagnation in the contacts between the two organizations, which quite deliberately coincides with the aggravation of political and economic relations between East and West. This is due to the hegemonistic ambitions of the United States and to the policy of the most reactionary Western circles, aimed at undermining detente and at setting up an economic blockade against the socialist countries. Thanks to the persevering and consistent efforts of the USSR and the other socialist countries in opposition to this policy of confrontation, the advantages of normal business relations between CEMA and the EEC began to evoke a positive approach in Western Europe. The readiness of the Soviet side to seek a common language with the EEC as a "political unit" on specific international issues, which was expressed during the recent Soviet-Italian summit meeting in Moscow, contributed to this.

Thus, this EEC request [as published] is being satisfied. As regards the differences incompetence between CEMA and the EEC on questions of trade policy, differences which had been pointed out as basic obstacles to the establishment of official relations between the two organizations, these are merely differences in the two organizations' functions. CEMA has not supranational organs and supranational functions, but it has every possibility and right to coordinate its foreign economic policy in the interest of normalizing trade and economic relations and in the interest of eliminating all discriminations in this sector. There are no formal obstacles whatsoever; only political good will is necessary today in order to revive all-European cooperation and to advance along the line longed for by the European peoples in implementing the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

BTA 'DECLARATION' ON EXECUTION OF INDONESIAN COMMUNIST

AU121901 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 12 Jun 85

["BTA Declaration"--BTA headline; spellings of all Indonesian names as received]

[Text] Sofia, 12 Jun (BTA)--The Bulgarian public has received with anger and indignation the news of the execution of Mr Mohammed Munir, prominent activist of the Indonesian and international workers' movement, member of the Politburo of the CC of the Indonesian Communist Party, chairman of the National Council of the Central Organization of the Indonesian Trade Unions (SOSBI) and deputy chairman of the Executive Buro of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Very serious concern is caused by the information arriving here of preparations for severe reprisals against other brave Indonesian patriots who have fought throughout their lives against colonial domination and for the freedom and independence of their people. Among them are the activists of the Indonesian Communist Party Rustomo Jocko Untunga and Gatota Soutaryo, who have been thrown in the prison death-cells after the 1965-57 [dates as received] events in Indonesia.

The new wave of anticommunist terror and repressions brings back to mind the monstrous atrocities against patriots and communists in Indonesia two decades ago. It also constitutes a direct support for the most reactionary imperialist circles who are calling for a "crusade" against communism and are trying to halt the independent development of the young national states who have embarked upon the road of democracy and social progress.

The BTA has been empowered to state that the entire Bulgarian public condemns strongly the restarting of the anticommunist terror in Indonesia and by joining its voice to the demands raised by many governments, parties, national and international organizations, calls upon the Indonesian Government to take measures for the immediate halting of the executions and repressions in the name of humanism and justice.

CSO: 2200/160

5 July 1985

## BULGARIA

## CC SECRETARIAT ADOPTS DECISION ON SOCCER MATCH

AU201840 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Jun 85

[Text] A decision of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat has been released for publication. It reads:

The final match on the Cup of the People's Republic of Bulgaria between the teams of "Levski-Spartak" and the Central Army Club [CAC] "September Banner", which took place yesterday in Sofia, turned into a shameful spectacle. With a view to stamping out such events, the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee has decided:

1. It considers it expedient to disband the soccer clubs and the representative soccer teams of "Levski-Spartak" and the CAC "September Banner." The hitherto leaders of the two clubs are banned from assuming any leading position in physical culture and sport. The senior coaches of the two teams are to be relieved of their positions, and their coaching rights are to be taken from them.
2. The further existence of payroll soccer clubs in the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Main Administration of Construction Troops, and the Ministry of Transportation is inexpedient. Soccer clubs, based on a territorial principle are to be formed in their place, and during the next championship these clubs are to compete in the First Soccer League.
3. The BCP Central Committee Secretariat recommends that the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union of Physical Culture and Sport and the Bulgarian Soccer Federation do not award the Bulgarian Soccer Cup for the 1984-85 season, that they take the clubs "Levski-Spartak" and CAC "September Banner" off the final standing of the clubs in the First Soccer League for the 1984-85 season; that in accordance with this they make the appropriate correction to the final standing of the teams of the First Soccer League for the 1984-85 season; that they hold personally accountable the leaders, coaches, and players, guilty of the unworthy manifestations during the final match for Bulgaria's Cup.

Together with the Komsomol Central Committee concrete measures are to be conducted to decisively improve educational work with the soccer players, coaches, and leaders of soccer clubs.

4. The Sofia City BCP Committee, the district party committees, and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, in accordance with the high criteria of the BCP Central Committee Politburo decision on developing soccer, are to discuss the behavior of party members holding responsible posts in the sports clubs and soccer teams of "Levski-Spartak" and CAC "September Banner", and seek strict party responsibility from the guilty ones.

5. The leaders of the mass media are to adopt measures to decisively improve the activity of sports journalists.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

BCP DAILY SUPPORTS CC SOCCER MATCH DECISION

AU241639 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jun 85 p 1

[Editorial: "A Lesson For All"]

[Excerpts] The shameful scenes which took place on Wednesday during the final match for the People's Republic of Bulgaria's Cup between the teams "Levski-Spartak" and the Central Army Sports Club "September Banner" evoked indignation in our entire public. We cannot remain indifferent and tolerant toward these scenes. They fully contradict our socialist way of life. Nothing can justify them. We shall no longer tolerate the loose behavior of people on the soccer field and around it, club leaders and patrons, all of whom have forgotten themselves.

Those who acted as soccer hooligans were first of all national team players. Brutal and vicious in their actions, they thought that everything is permitted to them. Was this behavior accidental? Such an explanation would be naive and very wrong! Intoxicated by the general attention, a part of our best soccer players repeatedly demonstrated shortcomings in their civil and sports education--shortcomings and manifestations which were easily brushed aside with a light hand. Two soccer clubs have long been tolerated in Bulgaria. In comparison with the other teams, their privileges were unjustifiably greater. These teams were invariably contenders for the championship title and the other titles, and thus moods of intolerance, hatred, and even bitterness toward each other were born. The sad results came rapidly. They emerged glaringly during the depressing final match for the cup of the country.

The decision of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat in connection with the final match for the Cup of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is hard but just. It is a good lesson for all--for the soccer hooligans, their teachers, and for those who would attempt to smash honest sports competition and ignore the requirements, spirit, and contents of socialist sport.

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

SOLDIERS URGED TO OBSERVE SECRECY

AU071339 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Jun 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Major General Georgi Serkedzhiev: "Vigilance in Conformity With the Strict Requirements of Our Time"]

[Text] Imperialism is (?engaged) in adopting planned and purposeful actions of various types in the pursuit of achieving its global strategic tasks--namely the erosion and full liquidation of the socialist community. Subversive activities of the United States and its allies against the USSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the other socialist countries are constantly being intensified. The attempts of their espionage centers to uncover state, military, and administrative secrets through all sorts of methods and by all possible means are increasing. Under such circumstances the importance of vigilance and the observance of secrecy is becoming an increasingly significant factor in consolidating military discipline.

The responsibility of every member of the army, in particular that of the commanders, staff members, and political organs, in solving the problems of the protection of exchanged information has greatly increased. Only those who are well acquainted in detail with the real state of affairs in the respective detachment or service department entrusted with such information are able successfully to cope with the task. No less important in this respect is the detailed knowledge and application of the requirements, statutes, instructions, and other important documents concerning questions of vigilance and secrecy.

Other necessary obligations of commanders and staff members are to implement permanent explanatory and preventive measures likely to prevent the betrayal of state, military, or administrative secrets, and to stop in this manner all possible channels for the leaking of information which our potential enemies would require.

The officers, sergeants, and army personnel dealing with secret documents and secret technical equipment are increasingly being subjected to particular strictness. The necessity of improving daily work in training and educating soldiers is constantly increasing so as to develop their skills and habits in practicing vigilance, not because they are obliged to do so, but out of their own conviction, out of their lofty sense of responsibility and duty, because only under such conditions can vigilance become a true weapon. This aspect of

the soldiers' education must be considered as a task of primary importance by commanders, political organs, the party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations.

As a result of the decision adopted at the BCP Central Committee February plenum, microprocessor equipment is being used on a wide scale in our country.

The use of computers was also introduced in various commanding links, on training premises, and in the headquarters of the Bulgarian People's Army staffs. The long-term project is to introduce them on a mass scale in the activities of the leading staffs and in the combat training processes of soldiers. However, by introducing this equipment--and along with the further development and perfection of automation of a tremendous amount of information, important dates, and facts, and with their utilization by various executive cadres--the possibility of a leaking of secret and administrative information is considerably increasing.

The enemy, equipped with the necessary technical instruments, within a short time can acquire large amounts of important information--which is stored and which can be extracted from modern electronic computer equipment--if we fail to observe strictly all technical and administrative security measures in handling, processing, and transmitting the given information. Hence, one of the most important tasks of the people who are handling, providing, and using the microprocessing equipment in the Bulgarian People's Army is to observe security measures.

The complicated international situation as well as the decisions of the BCP Central Committee Politburo now demand that daily attention be devoted to this problem and to the implementation of measures connected with an increase of vigilance. Every member of the army must be fully aware of the fact that to interrupt idle talk, to prevent boasting about one's work and the mislaying of secret documents and maps, and to observe strict discipline in handling communications work, other technical processes, and technical equipment by ensuring efficient security measures constitutes an insurmountable barrier against the penetration of our military secrets by the enemy.

The overwhelming majority of soldiers have a correct political attitude in evaluating these questions. The numerous cases of vigilance displayed by soldiers confirm that the struggle against enemy reconnaissance is accepted correctly as a duty of all army personnel. There have been many examples proving that the communists and soldiers serving in various military exercises and staff training processes have manifested lofty vigilance as well as quickness of mind in blocking the efforts of foreign diplomatic representatives and foreign citizens to collect important facts on the Bulgarian People's Army or on our country's territorial organization. Thanks to the initiative and quickness of mind displayed by Captains Milcho Tonovski and Valeri Nikolov, armed criminals were arrested recently.

The overwhelming majority of soldiers and military personnel are conscientiously fulfilling their duty in administrative work, and are accurately observing the requirements as regards secrecy, which exerts a positive impact on the protection of military and state secrets. Outstanding soldiers in discipline were awarded according to a decree of the minister of national defense. One of them

is Petty Officer Dimitur Ivanov from the detachment in which Officer Traykov is serving. Filled with the conviction that administrative work contains extensive and important information, he is trying to perfect the organization of his work and to improve quality in performing service, information, and accountability tasks and in training himself and his subordinates in a spirit of devotion to detail, businesslike approach, and strict accuracy.

Unfortunately, not all members of the army are fully aware of the importance of observing secrecy. They do not always regard this duty with the necessary seriousness and fail to accomplish it with strict accuracy. There are even cases of a reduced sense of responsibility which inevitably results in violations of discipline, to the detriment of the interests of the Bulgarian People's Army and of the country. A particularly harmful conviction has manifested itself recently. Based on the erroneous notion that contemporary technical equipment in space and the tremendous opportunities for reconnaissance through technical means makes the successful observance of military secrecy too difficult. This is a dangerous misunderstanding which causes great harm to combat readiness and vigilance.

The complicated military-political situation today demands that in observing state and military secrecy great attention should be devoted to vigilance. Vigilance is a virtue that should be practiced by everyone. It should be constantly developed by devoting permanent attention to the activities of potential enemies and by maintaining irreconcilability toward all violations and manifestations which are undermining the combat readiness of the People's Army. Decisive actions are necessary for the protection of state and military secrets, vigilance must be increased, and strict observance of the measures imposed by important documents must be practiced by all members of the army in all places and at all times.

CSO: 2200/157



BULGARIA

15-22 JUN LEADERS' APPEARANCES

AU221847 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 15 to 22 June notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts given in parentheses): Stanko Todorov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Assembly, attended a celebration in Samokov to mark the 75th anniversary of the Samokov commune. (1730 GMT 20 Jun). Stanko Todorov also attended a meeting of the permanent committee on people's councils at the National Assembly which discussed questions of local government. (0900 GMT 21 Jun). Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the trade union, attended a nationwide trade union conference on labor protection improvements. (0900 GMT 21 Jun). Yordan Yotov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, attended a conference of the local party leadership in Khaskovo which discussed questions of patriotic and internationalise education. (1930 GMT 21 Jun). Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a session of the Kyustendil Okrug BCP Committee. (0900 GMT 22 Jun).

CSO: 2200/160

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

IRAQI AMBASSADOR DEPARTS--On 10 June Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received 'Abd Husayn Ibrahim ar-Rafa'i, Iraqi ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from Bulgaria. Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, attended the meeting. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jun 85 p 6 AU]

BULGARIANS RECEIVE HUNGARIAN AWARDS--The Presidium of Hungary [as heard] has awarded Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, the order of the Banner of the Hungarian People's Republic, and has awarded Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, the order of the Star of the Hungarian People's Republic, with golden wreath, in recognition of their fruitful and effective activity in developing relations between the two countries, and expanding and strengthening relations between our fraternal peoples. In a festive atmosphere the orders were today awarded by Guyla Gyovai, Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria, who warmly greeted those awarded. Comrade Dimitur Stanishev expressed warm thanks on behalf of those awarded. He assured that the awards will be a stimulus in their further selfless work in strengthening the fraternal friendship between the two countries and the socialist community in the name of peace and progress. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 18 Jun 85 AU]

LUKANOV RECEIVES FRENCH INDUSTRIALISTS--Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)--Today Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Intergovernmental Bulgaro-French Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, received a delegation of the National Council of the French Industrialists, led by the member of the Executive Committee of the Council Mr Claude Bloch. The French guests showed great interest in Bulgaria's economic development. At the meeting the interest of the French business circles in broadening contacts with this country as a steady and prestigious partner was noted. [Text] Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 19 Jun 85 AU]

FILIPOV AWARDS FRONTRANKERS--On the occasion of the Day of Power Supply Workers today in Sofia the new heroes of socialist labor from the branch of power supply were announced. In a festive atmosphere, the high distinctions and golden stars were awarded by Comrade Grisha Filipov to Georgi Stalev Dichev from Kozloduy and to Iliya Tsonev Penkov from Varna. Some 75 noted workers, specialists and leaders were awarded with orders and medals for their great successes. Afterwards at a festive meeting at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia

Georgi (?Khalachev), spoke on the present state of the branch and on the serious measures adopted for stabilizing and dynamically developing the branch. Comrade Grisha Filipov attended the meeting. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Jun 85 AU]

DELEGATION TO MOZAMBIQUE--On 23 June a delegation led by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, departed for Mozambique, where it will take part in the celebration marking the 10th anniversary of the country's independence. At Sofia airport the delegation was seen off by deputy chairmen of the National Assembly. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 23 Jun 85 AU]

ZHIVKOZ RECEIVES CPCZ SECRETARY--On 20 June Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Presidium and Central Committee secretary, who is on a working visit to Bulgaria. During the cordial and friendly talk, Comrade Todor Zhivkov briefed the guest on the tasks which are currently being solved by Bulgaria's communists and all its working people in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, the BCP national conference, and the subsequent Central Committee plenums. He spoke on the preparations for the 13th BCP Congress, which will mark new trends for further constructing the developed socialist society on the basis of the achievements of scientific-technological progress. Comrade Jan Fojtik briefed Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the work of the CPCZ and the CSSR people on translating into reality the 16th CPCZ Congress decisions on further intensification of the economy and on worthily greeting the 17th CPCZ Congress. The relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation which connect the BCP and the CPCZ, and Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, were positively evaluated at the meeting, and determination was expressed to further strengthen and expand them in all areas of life on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 20 Jun 85 AU]

FILIPOV VISITS TOLBUKHIN OKRUG--Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, is paying a visit to Tolubkhin Okrug. He attended a joint session of the Okrug BCP Committee and of the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee at which main attention was devoted to the harvest and to the most important economic tasks of the okrug. Comrade Grisha Filipov submitted specific recommendations for the improvement of work during the forthcoming months. He also became acquainted with the work of some local industrial enterprises. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Jun 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV ATTENDS BLAGOEVGRAD FESTIVAL--In the presence of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, a festive meeting and concert took place in Blagoevgrad tonight to conclude the Seventh International Festival of Political Songs under the title: "Alen Mak." Lazar Prichpakov, first secretary of the Blagoevgrad Okru BCP Committee, and Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee also attended. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 21 Jun 85 AU]

CHANDRA AT INTERNATIONAL PEACE 'DIALOGUE'--Sofia, 21 Jun (BTA)--The international meeting-dialogue opened here today will give the opportunity of scientists and cultural figures from 27 countries to discuss the most topical issues of the struggle against the nuclear threat. The subject of the meeting is "Culture and Science in the Consolidation of the Anti-war Movements." At the opening of the meeting, the chairman of the Bulgarian National Committee in Defence of Peace, Mr Georgi Dimitrov-Goshkin, stressed that the wide international participation is an expression of the keen sense of responsibility of the workers in the spheres of science and culture for the preservation of world peace. Today's speeches touched on issues of the struggle for the averting of the militarization of space, issues of the reduction of the strategic and medium range nuclear weapons and the necessity to freeze the researches with military purposes and to cease the production and the deployment of all kinds of nuclear weapons. Bulgaria and the entire Bulgarian people have always supported the struggle for peace and we are very grateful for this assistance and support in the name of the further consolidation of the unity of the peaceful forces in the world, Mr Romesh Chandra, chairman of the World Peace Council stressed at today's session. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 21 Jun 85 AU]

YORDANOV MEETS UNESCO'S M'BOW--Paris, 22 Jun (BTA corr.)--Today in Paris Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria and chairman of the Council for Culture, met Mr Amadou Mahtar M'bow, director general of the United Nations Education Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO). On behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, Mr Georgi Yordanov delivered to Mr Amadou Mahtar M'bow best wishes for his fruitful work in UNESCO. He informed the secretary general of the preparation carried out in Bulgaria for providing the most adequate conditions for the successful work of the 23d regular session of the UNESCO General Conference which will be held in Sofia from October 8 through November 12, 1985. Mr Amadou Mahtar M'bow thanked for the best wishes and stressed the significance of Bulgaria's active cooperation with UNESCO. Dwelling on some aspects of the recently closed 121 [as received] session of the Executive Committee in Paris, the UNESCO director gneral expressed his conviction that this autumn Sofia will show its traditional and well-known hospitality to the delegations and guests to the General Conference. They discussed a number of issues related to the further promotion and deepening of cooperation between Bulgaria and UNESCO. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 22 Jun 85 AU]

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATION TO SPAIN--A delegation of the National Assembly led by Vasil Tsanov, chairman of the Party-Governmental Council on Agriculture and Forests at the Council of Ministers, visited Spain from 17 to 23 June at the invitation of the Commission on Agriculture, Cattle Breeding, and Fishing of the Spanish Congress of Deputies. The delegation was received by (Gregorius Parada), chairman of the Congress of Deputies. At a meeting with the Commission of Agriculture, Cattle Breeding, and Fishing, information was exchange on a broad range of issues related to agriculture and the two countries' agricultural policies. The delegation was briefed on Spain's agricultural experience in Aragon and Catalonia. Comrade Vasil Tsanov,

secretary of the BCP Central Committee, also held extraparliamentary contacts at the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, and met Gerardo Iglesias, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party. He also had a meeting at the Federal Committee of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 23 Jun 85 AU]

ANGOLAN PARTY DELEGATION VISIT--In implementation of the cooperation protocol between the BCP and MPLA-Labor Party, from 17 to 24 June an Angolan party working group led by Olimpio Alves Cardina, head of the Pedagogical Section of the MPLA Central Committee Ideological and Political Education Department, visited Bulgaria. The delegation was briefed on some aspects of BCP ideological work and the training of party cadres. The Angolan guests had meetings at the BCP Central Committee's "ideological policy" and "foreign policy and international relations" departments, the BCP okrug committees in Gabrovo and Stara Zagora, and with other party organs. The delegation visited the Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration, and the Gabrovo inter-okrug party school, as well as some industrial and agricultural sites. The delegation also visited some historical and cultural sites. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 24 Jun 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV MONGOLIAN VISIT--The BCP Central Committee Politburo heard information on the official and friendly visit of the Bulgarian party-state delegation led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to Mongolia, from 2 to 5 June 1985. A high evaluation was voiced of the results of the talks held between comrades Todor Zhivkov and Jambyn Batmonh, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and total unity on all matters discussed. It has been stressed that the important issues of the Bulgarian-Mongolian economic and cultural relations, discussed and resolved during the talks between the two party-state delegations, as well as the long-range program on developing economic and scientific-technological cooperation, which was signed, will ensure a solid basis and good prospects of bilateral economic and scientific-technological relations. The Politburo fully shares the evaluation of the present international situation made during the talks. The Politburo instructed the party and state organs, ministries, and public and mass organizations to adopt concrete measures and initiate practical actions for consistently and fully implementing the agreements reached during the official and friendly visit. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 24 Jun 85 AU]

USSR TU DELEGATION--A USSR trade union delegation led by Vitaliy Provotorov, secretary of the USSR All-Union Central Council of the Trade Unions, arrived today in Bulgaria in order to participate in the "10 Days of Bulgarian-USSR Trade Union Cooperation." The delegation was received by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov. Afterwards, Anton Traykov, secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and Vitaliy Provotorov exchanged information on the tasks facing the trade unions and on the organizational means and forms of their implementation. The USSR Trade Delegation visited the Georgi Dimitrov Scientific-Research Trade Union Institute. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 Jun 85 AU]

CMEA DELEGATION TO WARSAW--A Bulgarian delegation led by Comrade Grisha Filipov arrived in Warsaw where it will take part in the 40th session of CEMA which opens tomorrow. Comrades Andrey Lukanov, Stanish Bonev, and Kiril Zarev are members of the delegation. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 Jun 85 AU]

TRANSPORT DISCUSSION WITH HUNGARY--Comrade Chudomir Aleksandrov has received Lajos Urban, Hungarian minister of transportation. It was noted with satisfaction that in recent years the two countries' cooperation in transportation has been developing along an ascending line. The basic trends of cooperation during the next 5-year plan period in the areas of railroad, automobile, air, and river transportation were also discussed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 24 Jun 85 AU]

SENEGALESE DELEGATION VISIT--According to the protocol on interparty cooperation from 4 to 11 June a working group of Senegal Independence and Labor Party, led by Fode Ndiaye [spelling as published], head of the Central Committee "Economic and Social" Department and Central Committee member, visited Bulgaria and was acquainted on some basic issues of the BCP economic and social policy. The Senegalese delegation held talks at the BCP Central Committee "Economic and Scientific-Technological Policy," "Agricultural," and "Foreign Policy and International Relations" departments; at the Pazardzhik Okrug BCP Committee; and at other party and state organs, visited many industrial and agricultural sites, and was acquainted with some historical and cultural sites. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jun 85 p 2 AU]

TANCHEV RECEIVES CANADIAN POLITICIAN--Sofia, June 11 (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, first vice-president of the State Council, received Sen Richard Stanbury, a prominent Canadian political and public figure, former president of the Liberal Party, who is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (B.Z.N.S.). They discussed the opportunities for the further expansion of contacts between the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and Canada's Liberal Party, which help promote the relations between the two countries in various fields. It was observed that more than ever before the Agrarian, the Liberal, the Radical and other democratic parties, all sober minded circles now must join their efforts for the preventing of the nuclear war threat. It was emphasised that halting the arms race, cutting down nuclear stockpiles and preventing outer space militarisation are the first priorities facing mankind. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 11 Jun 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/157

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GORBACHEV, HUSAK MEET IN MOSCOW

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jun 85 p 1

[Article: "Firm Friendship, Close Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] The meeting between Comrades Gustav Husak and Mikhail Gorbachev took place in an atmosphere of full unanimity, mutual respect, understanding and confidence which is characteristic for relationships between our communist party and the party of Soviet communists, between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Comrades Husak and Gorbachev determined with satisfaction that the mutual activities of both fraternal parties have a high level and that Czechoslovak-Soviet contacts along party, state and other lines are developing intensively.

The significance of the meeting between Comrades Husak and Gorbachev was emphasized by the fact that both sides have approached the preparation of their congresses which will take place next year. For our communist party, for all of society, the congress preparations on the part of the Soviet communists are a valuable experience and a source of inspiration. Czechoslovak communists are following the preparations for the 27th Congress of the CPSU with great attention.

In speeches which were given on the occasion of the visit, in conversations between Comrades Husak and Gorbachev, the great and fundamental significance which both countries place upon the realization of the conclusions which were adopted at the economic conference of CEMA member nations at the highest level in June of 1984 was once more demonstrated. This is a coordinated strategy of the struggle for more rapid intensification of national economies and scientific-technical development, connected with the deepening of the process of international socialist integration.

For us, the key chapter is economic and scientific-technical collaboration with the Soviet Union, whose concrete directions and goals are set forth in the Program of Long-Term Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between Czechoslovakia and the USSR for the Period Through the Year 2000, which Husak and Gorbachev signed on Friday in the Kremlin. This program outlines the framework of directions involved in cooperation in decisive branches of the national economy and over the long term. It forms the prerequisites for raising our collaboration to a qualitatively higher level. Comrades G. Husak and

M. Gorbachev stressed that it is important that this program be consistently fulfilled in order to attain the goals set forth in it with our joint forces.

Both sides decided to give new impetus to the spread of cooperation and specialization of production, as well as to joint efforts in the progressive directions of science, technology and equipment. Both comrades express their conviction that a successful unification of the production and scientific-technical potential of Czechoslovakia and the USSR and the other socialist countries joined in the CEMA association will contribute to the planned growth of the national economies, to the fulfillment of social programs stipulated by fraternal parties and toward the implementation of the creative possibilities of socialism.

Comrade Gorbachev reminded those present that in today's world with its complicated conditions of economic growth the rapid decline of prosperity and with hard competition, a clear perspective and assurance has an enormous significance for the future. It is precisely such a perspective and assurance which is given by the fraternal countries of the socialist economic integration and their bilateral and multilateral cooperation within the framework of CEMA.

As Comrade Gorbachev stressed, this is primarily a matter of joint efforts to speed up scientific and technical progress. "This is today," he said, "the key to the intensification of joint production, to raising the standard of living of the people and to perfecting the entire socialist way of life. And, naturally, toward fortifying the defense capabilities of the socialist countries."

Comrade Gustav Husak proclaimed that Czechoslovakia fully supports the peaceful efforts and initiatives of the Soviet Union which show a realistic and constructive way of solving the questions of limiting armaments, the reduction of international tensions and the renewal of constructive international collaboration.

He expressed full support even for the new concrete proposals which Comrade M. Gorbachev presented on Friday at a festive dinner and which deal with a moratorium in nuclear and cosmic weapons. Comrade Husak said that our country will continue to fully and actively share in the realization of a coordinated foreign policy of socialist society, in the joint struggle and measures to protect peace and to counter the imperialist threat. We believe that a particularly important contribution in this direction is the unanimous decision to extend the validity of the Warsaw Pact at a recent meeting of the highest representatives of Warsaw Pact member states.

The Moscow meeting once more underscored the significance of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Friendship and Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed in 1970. In full harmony with it, the mutual relationships whose reliable bases are the international ties between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the CPSU, a firm will and effort by both fraternal parties to develop and enrich cooperation are developing.

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CSO: 2400/445



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GRIBKOV DEFINES WARSAW PACT GOALS

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 24 Apr 85 pp 1, 2

/Article by General of the Army Anatoli Gribkov, chief of staff of the allied armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member states: "Alliance For Peace"/

/Text/ The Soviet people and the working people of the other countries of the socialist community are preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler's fascism, which crowned the battle fraternity of freedom-loving European nations in the Second World War. Only a few days later, we will be celebrating another important event, namely, the 30th anniversary of the military and political defensive union of the socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact.

The conclusion of pact on 14 May 1955 was a measure which had been forced upon us and represented the socialist countries' response to the threat posed to their security by NATO, a pact founded in 1949 by the Western capitalist countries.

The aggressive orientation of NATO became quite obvious in its very first steps. On the initiative of the United States, the Western allies engaged in intensive armament, set up a system of bases close to the borders of the socialist countries and began renewing the military potential of German imperialism. From a position of strength they tried in every way to slow down the revolutionary process on this globe and reverse the crumbling of the colonial system. In the late 1940's and early 1950's, the Pentagon drew up a whole series of plans for a nuclear attack against the USSR and its friends.

Under these circumstances, the European socialist countries had to create their own system of collective security. Its nucleus was the Warsaw Pact which represented a new stage in the cooperation of the socialist countries and their armed forces, which until then had been merely bilateral.

For three decades now the Warsaw Pact organization has been guarding peace. Never once during all these years have its members regretted their efforts to avert nuclear war, the struggle for peace and disarmament, as well as for better international relations. Through their joint endeavor the member states contributed to turning the cold war into detente in Europe and other countries during the early 1970's. The GDR had been internationally recognized and the

permanent nature of existing postwar borders in Europe was ratified. The Warsaw Pact member states played an important role in the preparation and implementation of the Helsinki Conference which on 1 August 1975 culminated in the signing of a long-term program of cooperation between the European countries and the United States and Canada.

In the years which followed, the countries of the Warsaw Pact continued their peace offensive. Easing of international tensions was enhanced by the 1976 Bucharest Declaration, the Moscow one in 1978, Warsaw in 1980 and Prague in 1983 during the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. In addition, there were proposals submitted to the UN General Assembly, the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe, the appeal to NATO member states for negotiations, and many other important acts, including the Soviet pledge in the United Nations not to be the first to use nuclear arms.

The urgency of the Warsaw Pact peace initiatives is clear to all. The reactionary circles in the United States, supported by the governments of some of the NATO countries, are striving for a dominant place in the world in the hope of achieving clear military superiority. This was demonstrated especially by the Brussels NATO meeting of December 1984. The ensuing decision approved the deployment of American missiles in Europe, aimed at the Soviet Union and its allies. The NATO armed forces continue to be equipped with new technology. There are plans for extensive military construction on the territory of Europe. For the period 1985-1990, there is an allocation of 7.85 billion dollars for this purpose. The unprecedented growth in armament initiated by the United States is attested to by the enormous Pentagon budget for 1985 of almost 300 billion dollars.

Concurrently with war preparation, the West unleashed an extensive psychological offensive against socialism with its Marxist-Leninist ideology, and proclaimed its intentions to "liquidate socialism as a social system." Such adventurous activities greatly threaten the socialist countries and cause heightened international tensions. Consequently, nations of the whole world look with great expectations to positive results in the Soviet-American negotiations which began on Soviet initiative in Geneva on 12 March, and which will deal with complex problems of nuclear and space weaponry.

Further progress in cooperation among the Warsaw Pact countries is of extraordinary importance in the current complicated international situation. One of the main directions of this cooperation is coordination in the buildup of the allied armies and armed forces overall. These include many measures to strengthen battle readiness of the ground and naval forces, improve their organizational structures, such as the deployment of Soviet operationally tactical missile complexes of extended reach on GDR and CSSR territory, as well as their operational preparedness on which the governments of these two countries and the Soviet Union had agreed.

There is coordination in the buildup of allied armed forces for which each Warsaw Pact member state allocates its contingents. This includes ground forces, antiair defense, air force and naval units. The armies of the Warsaw

Pact are equipped with modern military technology, while their operational and combat readiness training has improved. The individual units can be proud of professionally trained soldiers who are dedicated to the ideals of socialism and to their military duty.

A special place in the military cooperation is held by training the allied forces for joint operations against the aggressive international imperialism. Under the plans of the joint and national commands, there are joint exercises and methodological consultations among principal commanders of the allied armies. Units composed of various nationalities are studying together at training centers.

An important role is played by extensive complex maneuvers of the allied armed forces, such as last year's ground and naval staff exercise "Shield 84." Very effective are exercises within individual branches of the armed forces, which contribute to better training and, along with joint tactical and specialized training, improve the internationalist nature of the armed forces and their communality.

Also of great importance is cooperation among the political organs of the allied armies, which allows the application of party political and ideological experience and tends to enhance the patriotic and internationalist education of the troops toward their determination to defend the benefits of socialism. There is also effective cooperation in military science, in cadre training, and friendly relations between the armed forces and citizenry of the socialist countries.

The principal factor in further strengthening the combat union of our nations, in higher defense capability of the Warsaw Pact member states, is the consistent oversight of these relations by the respective communist and workers parties. Thanks to the close cooperation among the countries of the socialist community, we have not and will not allow the United States and its allies to disrupt to their benefit the military and strategic parity. Thanks to our close relations, the unity and common interest of the fraternal nations is becoming ever stronger.

This is well demonstrated by the unanimity with which all Warsaw Pact participants called for its extension. In a period when NATO, an aggressive imperialist bloc, continues to expand, we are in constant need of a well-coordinated, peaceloving foreign policy and a reliable shield for peaceful endeavor.

The soldiers of the allied armed forces are fully aware of their enormous responsibility toward the nations of the socialist community to guarantee their security and preserve peace. They are, therefore, forever ready to repulse any type of imperialist aggression.

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CSO: 2400/443

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GOP RIGHT CRITICIZED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 May 85 p 5

[Article by Dusan Rovensky, special correspondent of RUDE PRAVO in Washington: "In Defense of SS Murderers"]

[TExt] Several days ago the extreme right wing from the ranks of the Republican Party and emigres from the socialist countries met in Washington at a conference underwritten to the tune of \$45,000 by the Department of State, in order to assess the current tactics of anticommunism and its future objectives.

Among the participants were persons known for their close contacts with the White House and officials of the Department of State, the CIA and other anti-communist centers. For example, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Irving Kristol and others took part.

Among the participants in the conference, which was concluded with an appeal to the U.S. political elite to step up its struggle against the ideas of peace and socialism, was also a certain Michael Novak who poses as an intellectual and theologian. In November 1984, shortly before the U.S. Catholic bishops issued their pastoral letter criticizing, among other things, the enormous differences between the rich and poor in the U.S., a group led by Novak published a pamphlet which attempted to make light of the situation of the poor in the U.S.

Michael Novak is related not only in spirit but also in deed with the emigres, the prominent personages of [Father Jozef] Tiso's clerofascist regime who had found a haven in the U.S. The periodical which he publishes "absolves," whenever possible, the crimes committed during World War II by the fascists. For instance, he portrayed Tiso as a "politician who tried to alleviate repressions," and he even alleged that Tiso had saved people from concentration camps.

Michael Novak, as a member of a committee which controls the inflammatory radio stations in Munich, defended Hitler's racism at a recent discussion of congressional committees. In his words, the SS "Galizien" division (which perpetrated countless atrocities on the territory of Slovakia) was in fact "patriotic and consisted of members who loved democracy."

Such an egregious statement demonstrates the ideological standpoint of Michael Novak and his ilk and also shows the position of the extreme right wing of the Republican Party which decisively influences the White House policies.

5 July 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## FINANCING OF GERMAN 'REVANCHIST' ORGANIZATIONS

Prague TVORBA in Czech 22 May 85 p 6

/Article by Zdenek Liska: "Who Pays the Revanchists"/

/Text/ In the Federal Republic of Germany /FRG/, financing is one key aspect of maintaining "revanchist" organizations' fighting power. The functioning of their entire organizational system--from recruiting young members into the so-called Landsmannschaften /organizations of German expellees/ to broadly planned anti-socialist subversive activity--depends upon large monetary grants. For as long as "revanchist" refugee organizations have existed, their fixed financial support has never been decreased or frozen (not even the SPD/FDP /Social Democratic Party/Free Democratic Party/ coalition government between 1969-1982 changed a thing as regards this reality).

It is very difficult, almost impossible, to establish precisely the extent of refugee organizations' financial support. This is a result both of the number and variety of financial sources and their frequent covertness. West Germany experts determined that in 1984 the refugees received DM 80 million, which is thus far the largest amount in the history of their operation.

The federal government was their main source: the refugees received approximately DM 60 million from the federal budget. This amount was set aside primarily in the form of a contribution from the federal Ministry of the Interior, which is headed by F. Zimmermann, a member of the CSU /Christian Socialist Union/. This ministry dispersed DM 36 million to the Catholic and Protestant churches for the official purpose of "supporting exiles." Grants for the bishops' administration of former East German diocese transferred to the FRG formed another fund designated for refugees. It totalled DM 704,000. The Federal Ministry of the Interior supplied an amount of up to DM 2.5 million to "organizations and groups which aid the assimilation of refugees, exiles and fugitives." The so-called Union of Expellees, an organization of "revanchist" refugees, received DM 710,000 from the same place. Zimmermann's ministry dispersed DM 6.5 million for "support of patriotic cultural heritage," and another DM 4.2 million were designated for "support of the cultural life of foreign national groups." Both of these designations primarily conceal refugee support. The federal Ministry for German Relations, headed by H. Windelen, a CDU /Christian Democratic Union/

member, also made a significant contribution to the "revanchist" organizations. In 1984 this ministry distributed a total of DM 4 million for "the support of German political work by fugitive and exile groups."

The refugee "lobby" which exists in the Federal Assembly meanwhile takes advantage of every opportunity in order to increase the financial sources designated for "revanchist" organizations. For instance, during the 3 October 1984 meeting of the Budget Committee, CSU representative and member of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, K. Rossmann, proposed that money under budget item No 68403, which contained DM 17 million for financing groups caring for refugees and other persons coming to the FRG, likewise be allocated to "revanchist" organizations. Indicatively, this committee, in which the CDU/CSU and the FDP maintain a decisive position, passed the proposed measure.

The governments of the individual federated states are another source of financing for refugee "revanchism." The estimated total extent of monies provided by them in 1984 surpasses DM 23 million. Bavaria accounted for a prominent portion of this amount. It based its comprehensive aid to refugees primarily on the sponsorship, which it assumed in 1954, of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft--the largest and most active "revanchist" organization. For instance, the Bavarian State Government will cover one-half of the construction costs--roughly DM 25 million--for the so-called Sudeten German Center in Munich, which is due to be completed this year.

The refugees are also financed from the budgets of individual West German municipalities [Gemeinden] and counties [Grafschaften]. In this case, too, the basis for allocating money to refugee organizations is a municipality or county's assumption of sponsorship for a certain so-called county of origin--that is, an organization uniting refugees from particular places in East European countries. The sponsoring municipality's budget covers, in particular, costs connected with organizing "revanchist" rallies, and with establishing various cultural-political centers. It is likewise difficult to determine the total amount of money here, in view of the number of sponsors, of which there are approximately 370 today, and the differing allocation of support which they extend, but the amount is in excess of DM 18 million.

"Official" financial support to refugee organizations ends with municipal and county budgets.

In addition, there are "unofficial" sources, which can be divided into three groups. The first type includes money allocated to the refugees by the Federal News Service (Bundesnachrichtendienst, BND). Refugee organizations belong to the West German news service's so-called subsidiary institutions. The news service influences the general outline of refugee politics, organizes ideological diversions of "revanchism" against socialist countries, and exploits all types of information compiled by various refugee establishments involved in so-called research on the East. The West German weekly DER SPIEGEL noted (1984, No 12) that the BND receives DM 800 million annually, yet the officially cited amount is somewhat over DM 200 million. Each year, then, several million marks from the BND budget are directed to a fund for refugee organizations.

The CDU, CSU, FDP and SPD political parties are another source benefiting refugees. Within each of these parties, let us say political parties, there exist special "revanchist" groups which unite refugee members. "Revanchist" organizations then receive money from special funds, dispersed by the said political parties, through these groups. These sums are also essentially unaccounted for.

A third "unofficial" source are financial gifts from individuals. Among members of "revanchist" organizations there are some persons whose material situation enables them to contribute rather large amounts to financing "revanchist" activities. Tens of thousands of marks, otherwise called "gifts," have a consequent effect. For example, W. Branda, a sister of what was one of Henlein's closest colleagues and a longtime leading representative of refugee revanchism, donated DM 10,000, which she inherited after her brother's death, toward construction of the so-called Sudeten German Center in Munich. Moreover, all members of "revanchist" organizations constantly receive appeals for contributions for "cultural activity"; and these small amounts add up to a likewise not insignificant share of the total sum.

As regards the ever more prominent support of refugee "revanchism" in the FRG, it can be expected that the financial means designated for refugees will further increase. Among other things, their organizations are expected to play an important role in ideologically influencing the West German population according to the intentions of the militant course of the U.S.A. and its allies in Europe. And especially in this context, the "revanchist" leaders do not have any reservations concerning the financing of their organizations and activities.

12290

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GERMAN POLITICIANS ATTACKED AS REVANCHISTS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 May 85 p 5

[Article by CSTK correspondent in Stuttgart: "The Poisonous Growth of Revanchism"]

[Text] On the eve of this year's convention of the so-called Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, the clarion trumpet of that revanchist organization--the daily SUDETENDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG--in its editorial dealing with the upcoming provocation in Stuttgart published a brazen call by its representative, a state minister of Bavaria, Franz Neubauer, to his "fellow tribesmen" to be even more active and to penetrate the state communication media in which they are supposed to proclaim their "demands."

In his words, their main demand is the so-called "right of domicile" which will be endlessly repeated also at the current convention held in Stuttgart on 24-28 May. The leaders intend to use again the several tens of thousands members of that Landsmannschaft to attack the CSSR, to cast doubts on the concluded treaties and agreements about the postwar settlement in Europe, as well as to scream loudly for a revision of the outcome of World War II. In 1950 the leaders of the FRG revanchists organizations approved in Stuttgart the so-called Charter of Resettled Germans as their basic programmatic document. Although under the pressure of public opinion they had to desist from making in it appeals for open violence, they retained--and they still confirm day in and day out--their vain hopes that the so-called "free united Europe" will be created according to their wishes and that communism and socialism will have no place in it. In that "Europe" they see their opportunity for their new penetration to those areas which Hitler and German fascism had lost in a bloody war once and for all.

In the spirit of revanchism they speak about the continuation of the "Great German Reich" with its 1937 borders; they ignore, or twist, the concluded treaties and are stuck in the same unrealistic positions as during the cold war period. These revanchist forces are finding strong protection and direct support for their goals mainly in the current FRG Government and in the Bonn Parliament. Chancellor Kohl, the chairman of the CDU/CSU representatives, Alfred Dreger, Interior Minister Zimmermann, Minister for Inter-German Relations Windelen and other politicians of the rightwing parties are not sparing words of praise, gratitude and appreciation addressed to the Landsmannschaft, and



many a sentence in their speeches uses the vocabulary of those who are forever living in the past and who are unable to learn their lesson. That has been confirmed again last Thursday by a discussion in the Bonn Parliament where the few realistic voices which pointed out the necessity to recognize the untenability of several formulations in the West German constitution which directly "command" unification of Germany, were literally shouted down by the enraged rightwing politicians stubbornly adhering to the postulates of the so-called "open character of the German question."

9004

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POLLUTION DAMAGE IN NORTHERN BOHEMIA DESCRIBED

Kuching SARAWAK TRIBUNE in English 6 May 85 p 16

[Article by David Storey]

[Text]

MOST, Czechoslovakia (Reuter) - The tower of Hnevin castle at Most looks out over a full cycle of pollution that has turned north-west Czechoslovakia into an environmental disaster area.

The eye passes over the devastation of an open-cast brown coal mine, to the smog obscuring an adjacent chemical plant and, further round, to hillsides of dead pine trees.

The destruction in northern Bohemia, one of the most polluted areas of Europe, is a monument to 20th century breakneck industrialisation and thirst for energy.

The wide valley around Most and the Krusne Hory Range, which forms the border with East Germany, are victims of domestic pollution and, to a greater extent, acid rain which floats in from other countries on the prevailing westerly wind.

Before Hnevin castle stands what is left of old Most. A street of battered 19th century buildings ends abruptly in a vast empty pit more than 100 metres (300 hundred feet) deep where the city, of once stood.

"Everything has been sacrificed to coal," said one long-time resident of Most as he looked down from the castle on the scene of destruction.

Most's 50,000 people were moved to modern apartment blocks nearby as machines higher than the church steeple clawed away the old town centre and the country around to get at the coal.

Belts carry the coal across the wasted country to the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Chemical Works, formerly the Stalin Works and, before that, the Hermann Goering Works.

The works, as the succession of politically-chosen names suggests, have stood here for more than 40 years. But their pollution dangers, and those of the four power stations in the vicinity, drew little attention until the last decade.

Soil in the hills, dotted by weekend cottages, has been poisoned by thousands of tonnes of sulphur dioxide. In the country as a whole 30 per cent of forests are affected.

Near Most, spring brings fresh life to hardy deciduous trees but vast tracts of pine forest have died because of acid rain, leaving a landscape of bare trunks picked clean like dry bones.

A report on the national situation by the Academy of Sciences in 1983 warned of the urgent danger to animal life and human health. "The existence of 30

per cent of the fish, bird and mammal life is threatened," it said.

The report, suppressed by the authorities, warned of poisoned water supplies and said: "The adaptability of humans to outside factors is limited. Life expectancy may decrease."

Like many countries, including neighbouring West Germany and Austria, Czechoslovakia is desperately seeking to halt the destruction and make good the damage after years of neglect.

Karel Nutil, vice-chairman of the state commission for scientific, technical and investment development, responsible for pollution control, said 25 pollution-monitoring stations had been set up in the brown coal basin.

An alarm system has been established whereby the four power stations and several other plants are shut down when the pollution level reaches a danger level. This happened twice last year, in October and November, Nutil told Reuters.

He said Czechoslovakia planned to reduce annual brown coal production from 110 million tonnes in 1983 to 80,000 by 1990.

A transfer to nuclear energy would mean that by 2020 the brown coal power stations, whose emissions contain the worst pollutant, sulphur dioxide, could be abandoned, he said.

However, official figures give no hint of a slowdown in the rush to extract coal, a valuable asset as supplies of Soviet oil are reduced and have become increasingly expensive.

The north Bohemian mines produced an all-time record 6.7 million tonnes of brown coal in March, the figures show.

Nutil said Czechoslovakia intended spending 1.8 per cent of its annual national income on environmental protection in the next few years, installing costly de-sulphurisation equipment in all plants by the end of the century.

None of the power stations in this area, which provides one third of the country's energy has yet been fitted with Desulphurisation equipment, although an experimental device started working at one 20 megawatt block five months ago.

Prague's communist authorities hope to join other European states pledging to reduce their sulphur dioxide emissions by 1993 to 30 per cent of the 1980 level.

Whether the hopes can be met depends more on the country's economic performance than on political will.

"Desulphurisation in developed countries is no more a technical problem but rather a financial one," the magazine Hospodarske Noviny (economic news) said.

Czechoslovakia has defended its record in international environmental conferences by saying it suffers more than it inflicts. Nutil said 65 per cent of the pollution in northwest Bohemia came from abroad.

VIOLENCE AT SOCCER ASCRIBED TO CAPITALIST MORALE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jun 85 p 8

[Article by Karel Felt and Miroslav Kubin: "Tragedy Above the Framework of Sports"]

[Excerpt] The shocking events which preceded Wednesday's final match in the European Soccer Championship will be inscribed in the history of this most popular game as a painful tragedy. Forty-two of those who came to Heysel Stadium in Brussels to cheer on "their" team in the battle for the most valuable European club trophy, were killed. Another 107 persons suffered serious injury, more than 200 were injured slightly.

The causes and effects of the havoc wreaked by "fans" cannot be sought in the area of sports. The emotions which were so monstrously ignited, particularly among fans of the British Liverpool Football Club, are a reflection of the influence of the social policy climate in the capitalist society in which moral values and human ideals are constantly more deformed by the bourgeois quasi-culture of violence, ruthlessness and brutality. Many Western film and television companies have made a business of blood and violence on the screen or on television. Ruthlessness and violence belong to the ABC of the Western way of life in general.

Hopelessness and extreme insecurity of prospects for making themselves felt in a society which is unable to assure working opportunities for all, leads young people astray onto the path of unleashed emotions, violence and vandalism. Even a sports stadium--as we have already witnessed in some Western metropolitan areas--can become their safety valve. "Although sports provides a provocative climate," the German daily SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG wrote in this connection, "the problem which is vented at the stadium arose elsewhere."

It is sufficiently well known that even terrorist bands and neofascist storm troops rage in some countries and that the reactionary forces easily utilize them for their political goals. According to the West German daily DIE WELT, the chain of violence reaches so far that it is reported to be the price of freedom. It is alleged that the Western world has already become accustomed to it. However, to excuse the degenerate fruits of capitalist society as being a price which Western "democracies" pay for freedom--this has recently also become the custom for many a Western politician who espouse the cult of

violence, particularly where brutal actions against antiwar demonstrations or against striking miners are concerned.

A number of spectators of Belgian television expressed the opinion that the roots of violence at the stadium are not in several hundred hooligans but in the very essence of the capitalist system which offers youth the long-range prospects of unemployment, drugs and alcohol, from whence it is only a small step toward crime.

The massacre in the Brussels stadium is not the only manifestation in Western metropolitan areas, despite the fact that it is shocking in its extent. Violence, whose authorship can be attributed particularly to British soccer fans but which also occurs in other West European countries, has been around for more than 10 years in sports arenas. Brussels itself became the scene for disturbances by "fans" from the London Tottenham Hotspur soccer team before their match with the Belgian Anderlecht team. One person was shot during this violence. At that time, 200 fans were arrested for violence. In other Western cities--in Rome, among others--blood flowed at the stadium several times. Such a release of emotions no longer has anything in common with club entertainment. It is more a manifestation of hatred for other people in society where man continues to be bestial toward his fellow man, where, according to the catechisms of the bourgeoisie, the way toward success in life can be paved even with dead bodies and where violence is, so to speak, a current practice.

Is sports to blame? Certainly not. Its mission is, after all, the exact opposite from irritating the emotions, from stimulating hatred and violence. Following the events in Brussels even the highest government officials in Britain and other countries are speaking of violence which borders on the bestiality of fascist storm troops but, for the time being, they are doing nothing to change the situation which gives rise to such phenomena for the better.

5911  
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SURVIVALS OF PAST STILL COMMON

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 29 May 85 pp 8-9

[Article by Bohumil Nemec: "'Anachronism' Even a Contemporary"]

[Excerpts] In the force field of class antagonism toward capitalist society, the petite bourgeoisie behaves like a pile of iron filings between two magnets, which jumps toward the stronger one. Its economic position is reflected in its policy, ideology and its way of life. A bourgeois individual results.

He survives even under socialism: he acts like a parasite with respect to its advantages, he profits by mistakes and by retreats made from the socialist principle of life of society. And so, even today we meet up with selfishness, consumerism with respect to life, with judging people according to their properties and titles....

Therefore, the question is applicable: When and under what conditions does even this our "contemporary" become an outdated anachronism?

In solving the complicated and long-term task of educating a new man, significant results have been attained. Typical social characteristics and qualities of man such as industriousness, political awareness, pride in the successes of society, a feeling of duty and responsibility, high demands on oneself and on others, criticality, tenaciousness of purpose, patriotism and internationalism, hatred of warmongers, of national and racial oppression, collectivism and others have been formed and have become entrenched.

The petite bourgeoisie is not a typical phenomenon under socialism, that is to say it does not express its essence, it did not arise from its principles or its laws of development. On the other hand, however, it is a relatively frequent manifestation in terms of its form.

The petite bourgeoisie is a phenomenon which has its roots in the past but whose existence under socialism is conditioned by a whole series of causes. Those which have a general character--be it objective or subjective--can

include remnants of the exploiting class, their ideological influence, the effects of capitalism from the outside, disputes, disproportions and development difficulties, errors and mistakes which have occurred in the process of creating socialism, the obsolescence of consciousness with respect to the status quo, the ununiform development of individual sides of consciousness, etc.

The concrete historical causes for the petite bourgeoisie in Czechoslovakia have been analyzed. In the Lessons To Be Learned From the Critical Development in the Party and in Society Following the 13th Congress of the CPCZ it is said: "... numerous bourgeois strata in the countryside and among urban populations had a heavy weight in the social structure of our society. These strata represented a decisive political stream with a great tradition, strong organization and a specifically bourgeois ideology of nationalism, Masarakism and social-democratism which was deeply rooted and even penetrated into some portions of the working class. In Slovakia, religious anachronisms, utilized by the populists, played a significant role. For whole decades these strata were politically and culturally oriented toward the West."

With its origin, the bourgeoisie belongs among outdated social relationships. However, it would be incorrect to claim that we can encounter this manifestation only among people of the older generation whose life experiences were formed during the old conditions. Under socialism, we see, on the one hand, a shattering of old social relationships. On the other hand such factors as a certain continuity of views, ideas and orientations, etc., help maintain and conserve and even reproduce bourgeois phenomena even under socialism. This means that one must approach the given phenomenon like a phenomenon which is socially contingent. People can fall prey to it without regard to age.

With its social content, bourgeoisism is in sharp dispute with the tasks and goals of socialism, acts devastatingly on its development, on creating the spiritual profile of the personality. It is ideologically and politically harmful and undesirable. However, it is not enough to identify this conflict between bourgeoisie and socialism. It is very important to become aware that bourgeois characteristics do not exist nor manifest themselves in isolation from other characteristics of the personality; it enters with it into various types of relationships.

On the one hand, bourgeois characteristics are in conflict with socialist qualities and characteristics arising from the systematic acquisition of the essence of socialist social contacts, goals and ideals such as those expressed in the principles of socialist morality and the requirements of the socialist way of life. Simultaneously, bourgeois characteristics, even variably in all its manifestations, is currently entering into relationships having additional long-term negative manifestations, when they are mutually qualified, strengthened and supported.

In socialist society, positive characteristics prevail and gradually expel the bourgeoisie and other negative manifestations. However, it is clear that replacing the outdated with new more progressive things cannot be free of conflict because everything old (irrespective of the source of its origin) only grudgingly gives way to the new, thanks to a certain conservative nature and tenacity.

The mutual influencing and supporting of various negative phenomena can, even in the socialist society, take on such intensity (particularly where educational activities do not exist or are weak) which leads to the neutralization and displacement of positive changes in social relationships. The personality is then formed in a situation where bourgeois characteristics become predominant and have a substantive effect on it. In his speech at the All-State Activ at the conclusion of the 15th Session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ in 1980, Comrade V. Bilak spoke in this connection about "a socialist petit bourgeois individual" who is "much worse than the one we are overcoming." We must never underestimate the danger of strengthening the bourgeoisie despite the fact that it does not express the principal directions and development trends of our society and its creation of socialist man.

The petit bourgeois conviction is characterized by instability, mediocrity, illusions, petit bourgeois eclecticism, etc. A petit bourgeois individual is not able to dialectically grasp the meaning of ongoing changes and easily falls victim to uncertainties and extremes: when a success is attained in the process of creating socialism "elevate and enchant him" but temporary difficulties or errors cause him to be pessimistic and to lose his confidence. From here, it is then only a small step toward slandering socialism. An accompanying phenomenon then generally becomes a frantic search for "new" ideals and life orientations which, in harmony with its own intentions, bourgeois propaganda is only too glad to provide.

The difference between a petit bourgeois and a socialist personality is determined primarily by a variety in their ideological aims. This is unavoidably reflected in their various actions. Thus, for example, even a petit bourgeois can show work activity but it generally conceals a chase after material goods, an orientation toward the acquisition of "property," etc. Material well-being is valued by every sensible person in the socialist society. However, it is not considered to be self-serving but rather as one of the means which make it possible for socialist man to implement his own capabilities; material possessions serve to satisfy his needs but are not the main principal content of the meaning of life. That is why an effort to become a parasite at the expense of others and of society, complacency toward other people, toward the fate of society or mankind, are so foreign to the socialist personality.

A socialist conviction elevates the personality, imparts deep meaning to its life, helps to perfect social qualities and the application of their creative forces and gifts. In contrast, petit bourgeois convictions ruin man morally and spiritually, subvert the structure of his personality, lead to egoism, subject him to repeat cases of acquisitiveness, of chasing after property and consumerism. These facts are a warning against a simplified explanation when petit bourgeois conduct, which is firmly rooted in the life activity of a personality, becomes identical with individual petit bourgeois manifestations which we can encounter in people. In this respect, it is important to separate the subject and the carrier of petit bourgeoisism. The subject of petit bourgeois conduct is he in whom petit bourgeois characteristics predominate, are firmly "nested" in his life aims and lead to the personality actively disseminating his views, ideas and moods and "infecting" other people with them. A carrier of petit bourgeois conduct then differs from the subject in that his



consciousness and actions are, to a certain extent, characterized by petit bourgeoisism but his main life orientations, stimuli, needs and interests have not yet been subordinated to it. A lot of people have in them "a piece" of petite bourgeoisie without, at the same time, being petit bourgeois. The mechanism of forming a personality, with which we have already dealt, bears witness to the fact that it is not impossible that a carrier of petit bourgeois ideas might change into its subject.

The principal tasks which face society mean: the timely identification and solution of existing disputes in forming the personality of man under socialism; a differentiated approach to disputes; rendering the maintenance and strengthening of negative phenomena impossible--the origination of "the socialist petit bourgeois"; contributing to strengthening and development of the socialist personality. The solution of these and a number of other important questions of education must be effected on a strictly scientific basis.

It is clear that the rooting out of petit bourgeois conduct, the development of man in the spirit of socialist and communist ideals is not a simple matter. It is a task which is solvable only on the basis of purposeful organizational and creative work.

5911

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## SOCIAL PARASITE DEFINED

Bratislava SLOBODA in Slovak 9 May 85 p 11

[Article by the editors of SLOBODA: "Who Is a Parasite?"]

[Text] Letter to a Reader

Comrade Filip Izold, Kozarovce,

In your letter you ask whether every citizen must, come what may, be in an employed status? There are citizens in our country who are not in an employed status, such as taxpaying artisans who provide services for citizens, independently employed farmers and small-scale keepers of livestock. In some families the wife is employed and the husband takes care of the household and the farm. There are also those who have inherited substantial sums of money or who have won in the lottery, in the betting pool or in the sports pool. Are they parasites? One can hear different opinions on this matter. You would surely like to read some answers to this question.

Our constitution (Article 19) speaks of "work to benefit the whole is the primary responsibility of each citizen." Similar language is found in Article 1 of the Labor Law. No law contains provisions which would organize the mandatory placement of citizens into an employment status. The general obligation to work to benefit all is fulfilled by work in socialist organizations, in organizations other than socialist organizations, through the execution of membership rights and obligations within the unified agricultural cooperatives, in production cooperatives, through the activity of self-employed farmers without the employment of outside manpower. Even an independently creative artist or editor who is self-employed is fulfilling his civic duty since he is implementing the right to work.

From the above it is clear that the concept of parasites needs to be explained according to concrete indications as they are defined in the Criminal Law and in the law governing misdemeanors. Our criminal law punishes a citizen who systematically avoids work or who derives the means for living through another wicked means. It must be a matter of systematic action which has two characteristics. It must be characterized by a systematic avoidance of honest work and by deriving the means for living through a bad way. Both of these conditions must be fulfilled simultaneously. Bad methods of making a livelihood

cannot be considered to be isolated instances or when a man (given his physical prerequisites and his ability to work) works in the household in order to thus free the wife to pursue her qualifications and make them effective in the work process. A bad method of making a living is also not considered to be a citizen who lives exclusively from means which were legally obtained, for example, from an inheritance, from savings gained through his own work, from the proceeds of the sale of his own property which he obtained honestly, or one who lives from winnings which are permitted by law. In such cases, the courts consider whether means obtained in this manner are sufficient to cover the observed life style of the citizen and whether, at least from time to time, he does not derive means in some kind of bad way. Even a case involving an unwed daughter who remains in the family household and does not take on primary employment in an employed status is not punishable as long as the daughter actually works according to the circumstances of the case, provided the parents are fully occupied with their own professions. As far as the work of wives in households is concerned we proceed from the standpoint that they take care of the household and the raising of children. As far as common law wives are concerned, it is necessary to determine whether a case involves a bona fide common law wife or whether the status of the common law wife is only being pretended in order to conceal parasitism. The regulation of the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic No 158/1982 makes it possible for citizens to provide services on the basis of permits issued by the national committee. This is for artisan-type work, for maintenance of housing and apartments and for personal services, repair services, porter services, ditch-digging services and freight-hauling services. Such a permit can be obtained by a citizen who is more than 18 years of age, is qualified to do the work and will perform the services after his principal form of employment, or by retirees, women in the household, or citizens who are adjudged to have a changed work capability. The permit is issued normally for a nonspecific time. Members of unified agricultural cooperatives and small-scale livestock keepers may conclude contracts regarding the raising of sheep if the appropriate national committee issues an opinion that indicates that the necessary prerequisites for keeping this livestock exist in the case of the individual. Even this activity can be conducted alongside membership in the unified agricultural cooperative or after work.

We believe that we have used this explanation to clarify your question regarding the relationship of citizens toward work in harmony with our laws.

Best greetings,

SLOBODA editors

5911

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG PAPER SPECULATES ON HONECKER'S SUCCESSOR

Bonn DIE WELT in German 23 May 85 p 3

[Article by Werner Kahl, managing editor: "Honecker Wants To Assure His Legacy With the Young Guard"]

[Text] Returning to their half-finished socialist construction site after a break from work, three bricklayers look at each other with horror. In front of them, on a concrete pile, sits their colleague with his watchdog--dog and master meanwhile turned into skeletons from waiting. "But they were only supposed to watch here till we came back," is how EULENSPIEGEL, in charge of humor and satire in the GDR, has the brigadier caricature the gap between demand and reality under actual socialism this spring.

Meanwhile, SED secretary general Erich Honecker tries to raise work standards through innumerable appeals. Fritz Blume, a worker in the Drahnisdorf agricultural cooperative, promised Honecker to fully utilize daylight hours during spring planting. "That is why we are in the fields as early and as long as possible!"

"In every field, in every stable" the SED demands work until the "victory of socialism." The next phase on this road is the party congress in East Berlin in April of next year.

For Erich Honecker, SED secretary general and chairman of the GDR Council of State, this date is not a military parade as were other party congresses since 1946. Although the party media keep silent, prominent comrades already mention that this will probably be Honecker's last performance wearing his three hats. The party leader, chief of state and chairman of the "National Defense Council," will be 74 years old in 1986.

With the usual 5-year intervals between congresses, he would be 79 years old at the 12th Party Congress in 1991. This explains Honecker's rush to rejuvenate his power apparatus according to his own ideas and to make the regime even more independent under international law through concessions by Bonn.

But from what can be learned from East Berlin, Honecker does not plan to announce his retirement, not even in piecemeal fashion, before the delegates

of the 11th Party Congress. In his meeting with Kremlin chief Mikhail Gorbachev, he demonstrated rather his outstanding mental and physical condition to the Soviet functionary who is his junior by two decades. Among the leaders of the Kremlin vassals, Honecker performs as an exemplary pupil even gerontologically.

For this reason, the party forces in East Berlin proceed from the assumption that Honecker at first will have himself reconfirmed in his offices. Only in the middle of the "legislative period" might he acknowledge his advancing age, put his executive functions into younger hands, and confine himself to representing his life's work internally and externally.

Thus it does not seem impossible that he will continue in the office of chairman of the Council of State as a quasi state president and have himself acclaimed to the end of his days as the successor of Wilhelm Pieck, the only GDR state president to date. For the summer of 1987, he has already assumed sponsorship of the children's and youth Spartakiad, the biggest GDR sports festival.

But who will lead the GDR into the last decade of the century? In recent times, Honecker systematically brought trusted functionaries into the Central Committee and the Politburo (which now has 21 members), the highest SED leadership body among party groups. Functionaries on the "party olympus" such as Egon Krenz, at age 48 the youngest Politburo member, in turn bring in trusted people at the level of department managers.

Until the 11th Party Congress, further changes can be expected, for instance at the next plenary meeting of the Central Committee. This holds especially true for the desired rejuvenation of the top SED bodies. The younger generation comes from the leadership of the state youth organization, FDJ. It is the party's "battle reserve" for the "armed organs" as well as the cadre section for the highest party bodies.

At the 7th plenary session of the Central Committee before Christmas 1983, Erich Honecker had initiated the reshuffle. Egon Krenz, for years the chairman of the state youth organization and frequently called "crown prince," became a full member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary. It is said of the feisty functionary that "he measures 7 times before he cuts once."

For Bonn, one of the most significant changes was the promotion of Germany-expert Professor Herbert Haerber. Whatever has developed in this matter in recent months, shows Haerber's find hand.

Simultaneously, other high functionaries were promoted into the party leadership--a clever move by Honecker in order to avoid the forming of fronts:

--Guenther Schabowski, 55, editor-in-chief of the SED central paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND;

--Guenther Kleiber, 56, economist and Minister for Construction of General Machinery, Agricultural Machinery and Vehicles, and

--Dr rer. oec. Werner Jarowsky; a name to be remembered, as stressed by East bloc diplomats who follow the proceedings in the SED apparatus with close attention.

Jarowsky, 58, is hardly more than a name for the populace, although his function is directly concerned with their physical well-being: in the secretariat of the SED Central Committee he is in charge of supplies for the 17 million inhabitants. The fact that Jarowsky is being considered a dark horse for one of the highest posts--despite the chronic supply failure--indicates backing from Moscow.

Rumors reaching Bonn claim that this son of a German KP emigrant, raised in Leningrad, would be presented at the 11th Party Congress as Honecker's successor in one of the latter's three party functions. If this is not just an exaggeration by the East Berlin court gossips, the rumor could also have been started in order to indicate to Honecker via the rumor mill that his carefully constructed network of successors definitely has not yet been blessed by the Kremlin.

Some observers of the German scene believe that the rumor could also have come from the staff of the SED boss in order to induce Bonn to treat Honecker tenderly and courteously, since no one could know how a successor might act.

However, speculations to be taken more seriously assume that there exists a group in the Kremlin which intending to insert a counterbalance into the Honecker team in the person of Jarowsky.

Filling the office of chairman of the Council of Ministers plays a key role in all of this. Incumbent Willi Stoph, former Wehrmacht staff sergeant and already appointed defense and interior minister by Moscow, after his brother's death and various illnesses, had already tired of his office by 1980. But the Kremlin successfully urged him to continue presiding over the GDR Council of Ministers for another 5 years, and to retain his seat in the Politburo and the post of deputy in the Council of State.

Now the question resurfaces whether the 71-year old will give up his post after the 11th Party Congress; will he be succeeded by economist Guenter Mittag who, however, is a diabetic and had to be operated on in the fall of 1984?

For the foreign policy expert in the SED Politburo, Hermann Axen, a successor is also standing by: Werner Felke, 57, who proved himself on the FDJ Central Council under Honecker, might take over from 69-year-old Axen who had a pacemaker implanted.

Joachim Herrmann, 56, Politburo member and secretary for Agitation and Propaganda, also has the credentials for office within the innermost circle.

leadership. Herrmann, who studied in the Soviet Union, has been Honecker's ghost writer since working together with him in the FDJ.

It is one of the customs of communist cadre politics not to announce changes in leadership positions through radio, television, or newspapers. Thus the significant reshuffle in the Central Committee department for security questions--Sector "S"--became known upon a different occasion. During the 60th birthday celebration of Colonel General Horst Stechbarth, commander of the GDR armed land forces, which was widely reported, suddenly there appeared Dr phil. Wolfgang Herger, up to then department manager for youth affairs in the SED Central Committee.

Egon Krenz has brought along his former deputy in the FDJ leadership. Since the founding of the SED, Sector "S" had always been directed by an officer. Colonel General Scheibe, up to then manager of the department, retired at age 70 because of serious illness. It was naturally a surprise within the apparatus that, for the first time, a civilian, and a doctor of philosophy at that, was appointed to head "S." The department is directly responsible for political control of the internal and external security of the GDR regime. But Wolfgang Herger proved himself as FDJ secretary under Krenz as agitator on the difficult Jena scene.

In the near future, the SED leadership must also decide on the successors of three ministers:

--State Security Minister and Army General Erich Mielke will turn 78 this year. He is the most senior secret service minister of all states. No names have been mentioned yet as a possible successor.

--On the question of who will succeed 76-year old Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann, a name is already surfacing: Heinz Kessler, deputy defense minister since 1957. The former engine fitter, born in 1920, who at the very beginning of the attack on the Soviet Union deserted to the Red Army and then reappeared before the German lines in order to trick his former comrades with Soviet combat patrols, has excellent prerequisites for this office. The Silesian-born Kessler at present is chief of the Army's Political Main Administration.

--The Ministry of the Interior. The minister with the rank of Army general, Friedrich Dickel, has his hands full trying to stem the unending wave of emigration. On Honecker's orders, in 1984 he charged the bezirk administrations with the task of becoming preventively active in internal politics. That is to say, to avoid confrontations with the population if at all possible. But Dickel, also, is over seventy. He will turn 72 this year.

No matter what the decisions and speculations on questions of succession, one thing is absolutely certain: the power and influence of the Honecker couple. When East Berlin functionaries talk about Erich Honecker and his wife, they speak of the regime's "functionally most efficient couple." After his divorce in 1953, Honecker married Margot Feist, a telephone operator and 15 years his junior. In 1949, Margot Feist was the youngest SED member of the "People's Chamber."

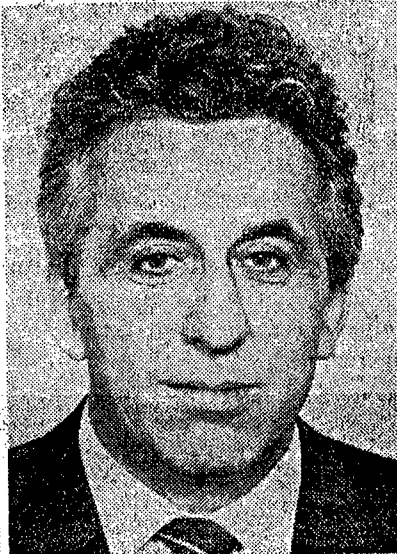
In the East Berlin government, the now 58-year-old minister for life not only watches over public education, but also organizes the military training of youth and controls the civic education of GDR inhabitants.

This exemplary socialist couple will probably continue to impress Kremlin chief Gorbachev. Of greater interest is the question whether the prospective "court heirs" will do the same? For the political executor in East Berlin is the Kremlin.

Faces of Tomorrow in East Berlin:



Werner Jarowinsky (58)



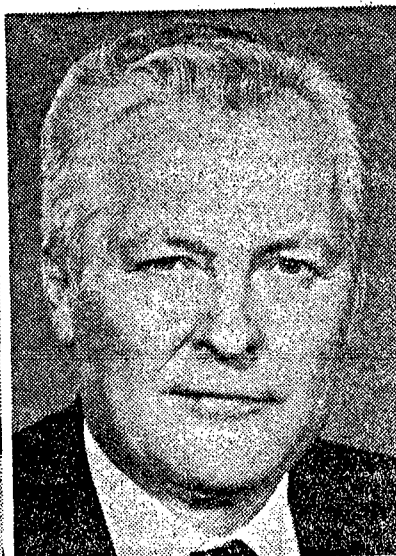
Egon Krenz (48)



Herbert Haeber (54)



Heinz Kessler (65)



Werner Felfe (57)

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CSO: 2300/419



HUNGARY

ELECTORAL CANDIDATES FOR NATIONAL ELECTION LIST

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 May 85 p 3

[Unsigned article: "Candidates for Representative on the National Election List"]

[Text] At the beginning of April the National Elections Presidium accepted the candidates for representative running on the national election list and published the list of names. We now publish brief biographies of the 35 persons--leading politicians, church officials, leaders of nationality federations and a few outstanding representatives of science and culture--were put on the national list of representative candidates at the recommendation of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front.

1. Sandor Barcs, retired director general of the Hungarian Telegraph Office. He was born on 10 November 1912 in Szeged, was director general of the Hungarian Telegraph Office from 1950 to 1980. He is a National Assembly representative, a member of the Presidential Council, and is a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

2. Tibor Bartha, Reformed Church bishop. He was born on 13 July 1912 in Magyarkapud. Since 1958 he has been bishop of the Trans-Tisza Reformed Church District, since 1962 president of the Reformed Church Synod of Hungary. Since 1959 he has been chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Hungary. He is a National Assembly representative and member of the Presidential Council.

3. Imre Biro, Roman Catholic canon. He was born on 13 June 1935 in Kecskemet. Since 1972 he has been leader of the Budapest-Farkasret parish and since 1979 canon of Szekesegyhaz. He is a National Assembly representative and member of the Presidential Council.

4. Jozsef Bognar, Academician. He was born on 5 February 1917 in Szombathely. Since 1973 he has been director of the World Economics Research Institute of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] and since 1985 a member of the presidium of the MTA. He is president of the World Federation of Hungarians and a National Assembly representative.

5. Mrs Lajos Duschek, chairman of the National Council of Hungarian Women. She was born on 24 July 1929 in Dunaharaszti. She has filled various party and social offices since 1953, has been chairman of the National Council of Hungarian Women since December 1980 and is a member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP.

6. Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]. He was born on 15 April 1917 in Pand. He was first secretary of the SZOT from 1965 and chairman since 1983 and is president of the World Federation of Trade Unions. He is a National Assembly representative and vice president of the Presidential Council and also a member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

7. Andras Gyenes, chairman of the Central Control Committee of the MSZMP. He was born on 5 November 1923 in Kisbecskerek. He has filled various party, social and state offices since the liberation and has been chairman of the Central Control Committee of the MSZMP since 1982. He is a National Assembly representative.

8. Ferenc Havasi, secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. He was born on 20 February 1929 in Piszke. He has filled various party and state offices since the liberation and since April 1978 has been secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP and a member of the Politburo of the party. He is a National Assembly representative.

9. Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the Central Committee of the KISZ. He was born on 22 November 1948 in Budakesz. After various offices in the youth movement and then in the party he was elected in 1984 as first secretary of the Central Committee of the KISZ. He is a member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

10. Mrs Robert Jakab, first secretary of the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary. She was born on 27 August 1936 in Felsopeteny. She worked as a teacher from 1958. In 1983 she was elected first secretary of the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary. She is a member of the party.

11. Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. He was born on 8 October 1921 in Turkeve. He has filled various offices in the youth movement and in the party. He is a National Assembly Representative and, since 1978, secretary of the Presidential Council. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

12. Janos Kadar, secretary general of the MSZMP. He was born on 26 May 1912 in Fiume. As a leading personality of the Hungarian Communist movement he has filled a number of important party and state offices. He was first secretary [also titkar] of the party Central Committee from November 1956 and was elected secretary general [fotitkar] of the party at the 13th congress of the party. He is a National Assembly representative and a member of the Presidential Council.

13. Zoltan Kaldy, Evangelical bishop. He was born on 29 March 1919 in Iharosbereny. Since 1967 he has been bishop president of the Evangelical Church in Hungary. In 1984 he was elected president of the Lutheran World Federation. He is a National Assembly representative.

14. Ferenc Kallai, actor. He was born on 4 October 1925 in Gyoma. He has been a member of the National Theater since 1948. He is a teacher at the Theater and Film Arts Academy and since 1981 has been chairman of the Theater Arts Federation.

15. Gyula Kallai, chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. He was born on 1 June 1910 in Berettyoujfalu. He has filled various party and state offices after the liberation and has been chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front since 1957. He is a National Assembly representative, member of the Presidential Council and the Central Committee of the MSZMP.

16. Janos Kiss, Roman Catholic titular canon. He was born on 24 October 1923 in Nagykoros. Since 1954 he has been priest of the Csanad and then the Szekesfehervar diocese. He has been titular canon since 1982 and director of the bishop's office since 1984; member of the Fejer County Council.

17. Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. He was born on 15 September 1924 in Isaszeg. He has filled a number of state offices after the liberation, has been chairman of the Council of Ministers since 1975. He is a National Assembly representative and a member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

18. Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. He was born on 18 September 1919 in Bolho. From 1948 he was a producer cooperative chairman and then minister of agriculture. He is a National Assembly representative. Since 1967 he has been president of the Presidential Council and is a member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

19. Marin Mandity, first secretary of the Democratic Federation of South Slavs in Hungary. He was born on 12 August 1943 in Hercegszanto. From 1967 he was a teacher and then textbook editor. He has been first secretary of the Democratic Federation of South Slavs in Hungary since 1983 and is a member of the party.

20. Gyorgy Mark, first secretary of the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary. He was born on 13 January 1937 in Mehekerek. He was a teacher and then secretary of the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary. In 1983 he was elected first secretary of the federation; is a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

21. Laszlo Nanasi, retired, chairman of the Supervisory Committee of the National Council of Consumers' Cooperatives. He was born on 31 March 1906 in Kisujszallas. Since 1949 he has been vice president of the SZOVOSZ [National Council of Consumers' Cooperatives], then deputy first secretary, and then chairman of the supervisory committee. He is a National Assembly representative and a member of the Presidential Council.

22. Karoly Nemeth, deputy secretary general of the MSZMP. He was born on 14 December 1922 in Paka. He has filled various party offices since 1946: from 1974 he was secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP and since March 1985 he has been deputy secretary general. He is a National Assembly representative and a member of the Presidential Council.

23. Miklos Ovari, secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. He was born on 24 August 1925 in Budapest. He has filled various party offices, has been secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP since 1970. He is a member of the Politburo of the party and a National Assembly representative.

24. Laszlo Pesta, retired deputy chairman of the Capital Council. He was born on 10 September 1902 in Budapest. He worked as a physician and then filled state offices, was deputy chairman of the capital council between 1950 and 1964. From 1965 to 1977 he was vice president of the KKI [Institute for Cultural Relations]. He is a National Assembly representative and a clerk of the National Assembly. He is a member of the party.

25. Janos Peter, retired minister of foreign affairs. He was born on 28 October 1910 in Alsonyek. He is a Reformed Church pastor, was bishop of Debrecen, and from 1961 to 1973 was minister of foreign affairs. He is a National Assembly representative and a vice president of the National Assembly. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

26. Imre Pozsgay, first secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. He was born on 26 November 1933 in Konyi. He has filled a number of party and state offices, has been first secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front since 1982. He is a National Assembly representative and a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

27. Antal Reger, vice president of the Democratic Federation of Germans in Hungary. He was born on 16 August 1940 in Katoly. From 1973 to 1982 he was first secretary of the Democratic Federation of Germans in Hungary and has been vice president of the federation since 1983. He is a National Assembly representative and a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

28. Laszlo Salgo, chief rabbi. He was born on 23 April 1910 in Budapest. He is chief rabbi of the main temple in Budapest. He is leader of the National Council of Rabbis of the Hungarian Israelites. He is a National Assembly representative.

29. Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly. He was born on 30 October 1921 in Budapest. He filled various party and social offices after the liberation, is a National Assembly representative and has been president of the National Assembly since 1984. He is a member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

30. F. Bruno Straub, Academician. He was born on 5 January 1914 in Nagyvarad. He has been director of the Enzymological Institute of the Szeged Biology Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1970, is chairman of the National Environmental and Nature Protection Council and vice president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

31. Istvan Szabo, chairman of the National Council of Producer Cooperatives. He was born on 30 October 1924 in Nadudvar. He was a producer cooperative chairman from 1952 and has been chairman of the National Council of Producer Cooperatives since 1967. He is a National Assembly representative and a member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

32. Jozsef Szakacs, chairman of the Council of Free Churches. He was born on 20 February 1930 in Nyirpazony. He was elected president of the Adventist Church in Hungary in 1971. Since 1980 he has been chairman of the Council of Free Churches in Hungary and is chairman of the administrative council of the Pastor Training Institute.

33. Janos Szentagothai, Academician. He was born on 31 October 1912 in Budapest. He is a university professor. From 1967 to 1973 he was secretary and then chairman of the department of biological sciences of the Academy. He was vice president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences from 1973, president from 1977 to 1985 and a member of the presidium since 1985.

34. Rezso Trautmann, retired minister of construction and urban development. He was born on 23 October 1907 in Budapest. He was minister of construction and then of construction and urban development from 1957 to 1968. He is a National Assembly representative and since 1975 has been vice president of the Presidential Council.

35. Imre Varga, sculptor. He was born on 1 November 1923 in Siofok. He is deputy chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. He is president of the Feszek [Nest] Artists' Club. He is a National Assembly representative.

8984

CSO: 8125/1525

POLAND

# VICE PREMIER VIEWS MOSCOW CEMA SESSION

AU241530 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 May 85 pp 1, 7

[Statement on the 114th Moscow session of the CEMA Executive Committee made by Vice Premier Janusz Obodowski to RZECZPOSPOLITA Moscow correspondent Marek Pogodowski; in Moscow, date not given]

[Text] The 114th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held on 15-18 May and took a little longer than the previous sessions because of the large number and importance of the subjects discussed. Although only three sessions were held under the chairmanship of a representative of Poland, over 50 subjects were examined in the course of these sessions. At the 114th session we discussed many issues resulting from the summit economic session, but, at the same time, we had to formulate draft documents for the coming 40th CEMA session, which will be held in Warsaw in the next few weeks.

It is impossible to discuss all the subjects in a brief statement like this, so I will limit myself to those I consider as the most important ones.

In line with tradition, the Executive Committee session, which took place prior to the coming CEMA session, examined and approved the report on CEMA activities between the 30th and the coming 40th CEMA session. The report discussed the basic results of the economic development of the CEMA countries in 1984 and the implementation of the CEMA resolutions adopted by the recent CEMA sessions. Generally speaking, the report evaluated positively the performance of the CEMA individual bodies, noted further progress in expanding cooperation and intensifying economic integration, and indicated the need to accelerate activities connected with production cooperation and specialization.

The evaluation of the coordination of the 1986-90 plans of the CEMA countries was another extensive subject of our session. This evaluation was an attempt to sum up the present decisions made in line with the CEMA countries' economic policy in the sectors of mutual cooperation. The session agreed that coordination work had reached its final stages and that activities in all fundamental sectors had been initially coordinated in principle. All the same, the session noted that it is necessary to intensify the process by which multilateral and bilateral accords are coordinated and signed so that

the mutual obligations among partners can be included in the trade agreements in the coming 5-year period. The session also drew attention to the need to improve the forms of cooperation with regard to coordinating economic policy and investment activities of CEMA countries.

As for coordination work, we continue to pay special attention to scientific and technological cooperation, which is of crucial importance, especially in view of the fact that industry and other sectors of the economy require technological reconstruction. Everyone knows that this is impossible unless joint action is taken to speed up the development and application of micro-electronics, industrial robots, biotechnology, and so on. At this point it is worth recalling that various forms of embargo continue to be applied against our countries in these regards. However, as a community, we have the necessary conditions to be able to meet the challenge of modern development and to cope with restrictions and their results. To do this we should above all seek to exploit our manpower potential and scientific research base. However, we also must also reduce the road between the scientific bureau and the production shop, improve the exchanges of scientific-technological information, and link this cooperation more closely to production specialization and coproduction.

I would like to recall that we have bestowed a very high status on the work to coordinate our plans for 1986-90 and afterward with the CEMA countries. In 1983 the Government Presidium adopted the basic lines of cooperation with the CEMA countries in 1986-90. These lines defined among other things our main opportunities and needs in enlarging Poland's share in the socialist division of production. Later on we began drawing up long-term bilateral programs for economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the individual CEMA countries up to the year 2000. Poland has signed accords on this cooperation with the USSR, Bulgarian, Hungary, and Romania. Programs for cooperation with Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Cuba are in the pipeline.

Another important issue discussed by the 114th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was the program for cooperation among CEMA countries in conserving and rationally exploiting material resources up to the year 2000. This program includes almost 120 measures, most of which concerns fuel, energy, and metal raw materials as well as scrap materials. We hope that our joint efforts will be enough to devise new and thriftier technologies as well as better machines and equipment that would primarily consume fewer materials and less energy and fuels. We will also take advantage of mutual practical knowledge in applying various solutions, mainly organizational and economic, to achieve these goals.

Poland is most interested in conserving all production resources, and that is why we have declared our readiness to participate in almost 100 undertakings, in many of which we will act as coordinators. This often involves the projects that we have already tackled independently and those that we would like to tackle in the immediate future.

Food problems occupy an important place among the problems dealt with by CEMA, and the 114th session devoted the necessary attention to them. We evaluated the implementation of the comprehensive cooperation undertakings to improve the flow of food for the populations of the CEMA countries. Our evaluation of the present implementation of these undertakings, which were approved by the CEMA Berlin session 2 years ago, shows that the CEMA countries and individual CEMA bodies have further considerable tasks to accomplish this year and in the following years. In particular, we have to focus our attention of the cooperation that will ensure better supplies of modern machines, equipment, pesticides, fodder additives, conserving chemicals, minerals fertilizers, modern wrappings, and so on, to agriculture and the food industry. The committee's decisions contain a number of essential instructions for the CEMA bodies with regard to intensifying efforts to draw up the necessary accords and other documents.

CEMA is a vital organization, one that is always concerned to improve its performance. The 114th session of the CEMA Executive Committee examined far more subjects than is usual, subjects involving the functions of CEMA. One such function is the regulations of the CEMA committee for cooperation in the field of machine-building industry and its organizational structure. This committee is the youngest CEMA body with the status of a committee and was set up a few months ago. It is common knowledge that proper regulations and a proper organizational structure of a given body or institution guarantee proper performance. That is why this item on our agenda was not a mere formality as might have appeared.

We devoted much time to discussing and taking care of another more general subject of an internal party character, involving improvements in the organization of multilateral cooperation within CEMA.

As usual, the Executive Committee set the agenda for its next session, which will be held in Warsaw immediately upon the conclusion of the 40th CEMA session. The Warsaw session will discuss primarily the issues stemming from the resolutions of the 40th session, because it is now a tradition that the individual CEMA bodies begin at once implementing CEMA session resolutions.

I would also like to mention another important fact connected with the common past of our countries. The 114th session of the Executive Committee was held just a few days after the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. It was above all the USSR, Poland, and other CEMA countries that made their contribution to this victory, which brought us peace and made it possible for us to make joint efforts to promote our well-being. CEMA is precisely a positive example of such efforts.

At the current chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee I had to honor to make a speech in connection with the victory anniversary. After my speech the Executive Committee adopted a solemn resolution in connection with the 40th victory anniversary.

CSO: 2600/816



POLAND

# WEEKLY VIEWS 'PERIOD OF STAGNATION' IN TRADES

AU121002 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 8 Jun 85 p 4

[Article signed "(Bacz)": "Trades on a Leash"]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of 1985 there were over 315,000 artisan shops in Poland, employing some 663,000 persons. Although, as the artisans themselves say, taxation policy did not favor the expansion of this sector of the economy, almost 53,000 new artisan shops were set up in 1984. However, since at the same time some 33,500 old shops were liquidated, the net increase in private artisan shops amounted to 19,500 or 6.6 percent. This means that the upswing was by 50 percent lower than in 1983, which goes to show that after periods of intense prosperity trades experience periods of reduced development.

There are 30 statistical branches of trades, but only one branch registered a drop in the number of artisan shops, namely the clothing branch, in which almost 1,300 or 3.5 percent of the shops disappeared in 1984. This is a very disturbing feature. Tailors and producers of clothing continue to complain mainly of acute shortages of materials and of excessive taxation.

Very few new private bakeries were set up--only 60, which is 2 percent [of the total]. On the other hand, over 500 new candy and cake shops were set up, which amounts to 11.5 percent. This development is contrary to the expectations of the public, which no doubt wants more bakeries. Stagnancy also continues in the production of automobile spare parts and accessories. The number of automobile workshops is not changing. The reasons for this may be difficulties in launching production and in obtaining licenses as well as a plentiful supply of artisan-produced automobile accessories. On the other hand, many new automobile service shops were opened--about 1,000.

The situation of the construction trades is quite good. Last year almost 16,000 construction shops (the new figure is some 7,000) [presumably 9,000 shops closed] were set up, which means that the large-scale demand for construction materials and services is continuing. It goes without saying that this is so because of the chronic helplessness of socialized construction trades in all sectors, including repairs.

In evaluating the state of Polish trades it is important to take into consideration that last year's manpower in this private sector of the economy increased by 57,000 persons or by 9.4 percent, whereas the number of artisan shops increased 6.6 percent. This shows that manpower in artisan shops has slightly increased, although, as experts assert, this increase might have been occasioned by the legalization of "illegal" artisans as a result of intensified control checks. However, the continuation of this trend could be very useful because, as a rule, artisan shops employ on the average only just over two persons--the owner and another person. Hired workers account for just over two persons--the owner and another person. Hired workers account for 30 percent, apprentices for 13 percent, and family members for 8 percent of all artisan workers. Owners and co-owners of artisan shops account for the remaining percentage. This means that our private artisan shops employ mostly two persons, which limits their "production potential."

As for the economic results of these shops in 1984, the turnover increased 35 percent and was worth Z407 billion, including Z234 billion for services. The share of services in the overall turnover of trades has continued to diminish for the past few years. Production of goods is much more profitable, and last year their market value amounted to Z155 billion.

Although trades employ mainly contract prices, which guarantee reasonable profits, economic considerations are one of the chief reasons for the liquidation of shops. Only in the first quarter of this year 12,500 artisan shops were closed. The family situation, illnesses, or the death of the owner were responsible for one-third of the closures. However, as many as 2,000 shops were closed because of a lack of orders and producer materials, and 1,500 of them were closed because of low profits or excessive taxation.

Although a single quarter of the year does not warrant any generalizations, it seems that the number of closed artisan shops in 1985 will be much larger than in 1984 and that their net increase will be minimal. This confirms the assumption that trades are clearly entering a period of stagnation.

CSO: 2600/816

POLAND

PARTY SECRETARIES ON PARTY UNIVERSITY WORK

AU101402 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Jun 85 p 2

[Staffer report: "Party Activities in Higher Education"]

[Text] First secretaries of party committees at universities and heads of the science and education departments of PZPR Voivodship committees held a session on 7 June on current party work in universities. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski chaired the session.

Alfred Stroka, head of the PZPR Central Committee Science and Education Department discussed briefly the implementation of the ninth party congress resolution on higher education and recalled the results of the public consultations held by party organizations in connection with the 16th Central Committee Plenum. These consultations produced the thesis that it is most necessary to amend the higher educational law in order to improve the principles of socialist self-government and increase the effectiveness of universities' scientific, didactic, and educational work. Comrade Stroka told the session about draft amendments to the law which will be examined by the Sejm, and stressed that the party intends to preserve the universities' self-government, while increasing the state's influence on development of the main lines of scientific and educational policy and on the more consistent responsibility for the universities' correct performance.

Professor Czeslaw Krolikowski, vice minister of science, higher education, and technology, answered questions about the amendments to the higher education law.

During the discussion the secretaries of the party committees at universities again declared their organizations' support for the proposals in line with which the legal framework of the functioning of universities can be improved. They also reported on the current party activities and situation in their own universities and took a stand on problems raised at the session.

The session also discussed party work at universities after the 19th Central Committee plenum.

CSO: 2600/816

POLAND

## MILITARY SESSION VIEWS IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING

AU070904 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Jun 85 pp 1, 7

[Leszek Ziolo report: "Cadet Officers' Ideological Attitudes"]

[Excerpts] On the initiative of the PZPR Committee of the Warsaw Military District, a session was held in the Higher Chemical Warfare Officers School in Krakow to appraise the effectiveness of party and military activities in developing the ideopolitical attitudes of cadet officers. In view of the tasks mapped out for the Polish intelligentsia by the 19th PZPR Central Committee plenum, the session participants analyzed the methods by which future officers continue to be trained in ideology and formulated proposals for further activities aimed at comprehensively preparing cadet officers for ideological and educational work with soldiers.

Colonel Leopold Swiatowski discussed the problems of the training of the cadet officers in the Higher Chemical Warfare Officers School and noted that the instructors and the command of the school are the decisive factor in the process of ideological influence. That is why the PZPR Committee and individual primary party organizations attach great importance to party members' attitudes and to the quality of their impact on cadet officers. Colonel L. Swiatowski cited results of his school's party and military activities in developing ideomoral attitudes of cadet officers and said that the steady increase in party ranks, the militancy of the branches of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth, and the obvious efforts of cadet officers to enrich their sociopolitical knowledge and to develop their rational and mature stance on events in the modern world attest to the value of the methods of the school's ideological and educational work.

The participants in the discussion stressed that the high standards of the party-political and ideoeducational work in officers schools constitute an indispensable condition for the proper training of young officers and commanders for service and party activities. The 10th Central Committee plenum mapped out extensive tasks for the intelligentsia. As members of the Polish intelligentsia, the officers and cadet officers of the Polish People's Armed Forces are aware of the need to intensify ideological work among young people and understand their place in the efforts to implement the ninth party congress program. They know that their primary duty is to ensure the quality of young soldiers' training and to promote the ideological prowess and political awareness of those who continue to train for the responsible functions of commanders and educators of soldierly collectives.

CSO: 2600/816

POLAND

'SIMPLIFIED' PPR-USSR BORDER PROCEDURES ADOPTED

AU200926 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 May 85 p 7

[PAP Moscow report: "Simplifications in Border Traffic"]

[Text] PAP correspondent Jozef Rzeszut writes: On Tuesday, at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, there was a ceremonious signing of an "agreement between the governments of the USSR and PPR concerning simplified state border crossing procedure for citizens residing in localities near the border."

The document was signed by Boris Aristov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Stanislaw Kociolek, PPR ambassador to the USSR.

The agreement, which will enter into effect after an exchange of notes about its ratification by the relevant authorities of both states, will serve the further development and enhancement of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union.

It lays down that residents of the border areas of both countries have the right to cross the state border on the basis of a once-only permit, as well as on the basis of an identity card or other proof of identity. Permits will be issued by the relevant authorities of each country on the basis of invitations extended to relatives living in the other country, telegrams, or announcements concerning bereavement, all of these subject to confirmation by the authorities of the second country. The once-only permit entitles the holder to stay on the territory of the second country for 7 days, and in justified cases this period may be extended by decision of the relevant authorities in both countries.

The agreement also foresees a simplified procedure for trips by party, social, youth, and administrative delegations from the border areas, as well as by participants in mass events organized on both sides of the border.

Employees of the health services in border areas gain the right to cross the border at any time of day or night solely on the basis of identity cards or other proof of identity, if it is necessary to render medical assistance to citizens and no such assistance is available locally.

Simplified customs controls will be carried out in accordance with the customs regulations of both countries.

Addenda to the agreement define the border zone of both states. In the PPR, this zone covers almost 500 townships in the Elblag, Olsztyn, Suwalki, Bialystok, Biala Podlaska, Chelm, Zamosc, Przemysl, and Krosno Voivodships. The USSR zone covers a similar number of places in the Kaliningrad Oblast, Lithuanian SSR, and Grodno, Brest, Volyn, and Lvov Oblasts. The addenda also established 22 crossing points at which the simplified procedure will be in force. Of these, 11 crossing points have been selected for the use of delegations and persons accompanying them.

In speeches delivered during the signing ceremony, Deputy Minister Aristov and Ambassador Kociolek stressed that this is an important agreement which extends comprehensive Polish-Soviet cooperation onto new spheres and meets the interests of the citizens of our countries halfway. Its signing is yet another proof of the permanence of the base of Polish-Soviet relations.

It is worth stressing that the agreement is another step along the road to bringing the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union nearer. It will facilitate the continuation of family ties between residents in the border areas, an exchange of delegations between localities in these areas, and the organization of mass events. It will facilitate to a maximum extent medical assistance for citizens of both states in an emergency.

CSO: 2600/816

POLAND

PZPR OFFICIAL HEARS COMPLAINTS OF ZGIERZ RESIDENTS

LD201208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 20 May 85

[Report by correspondent Andrzej Berut from Zgierz]

[Text] The party urban committee is meeting in plenary session in Zgierz today. Among those participating in the deliberations, which are assessing the implementation of suggestions and complaints coming in from citizens, is Comrade Albin Siwak, member of the Politburo and chairman of the suggestions and complaints commission of the PZPR Central Committee. Since early morning, Comrade Albin Siwak has been receiving the citizens of Zgierz individually and talking to them.

[Begin Siwak recording] People are just coming in with requests for help in fixing something they can't settle for themselves locally. We will simply have to help the local authorities here to settle these outstanding matters and at the same time get an idea for ourselves, directly, why it has happened, why these matters often cause conflict, and are painful. The reason for the mistakes which we talked about so loudly was that the leadership did not have those contacts; I am talking of course, about the leadership of the seventies. Today, there is another style of work and this does not just apply to me; it applies to all members of the Politburo and Central Committee secretaries, from General Jaruzelski down, who have everyday contact. As for me, because of my post as chairman of the commission, I have greater, broader contact; I get to people more. Yes, it enriches knowledge and strengthens one in the conviction about the direction in which people want to develop the system of government; simply, when they talk about social justice, and how they see it; how it should be for them.... Not in written form, but in a form which they can, so to speak, reach out and touch; simply, tangible on the ordinary working day. [End recording]

CSO: 2600/816

POLAND

# GEN HERMASZEWSKI DISCUSSES AEROKLUB ACTIVITIES

Warsaw ZIELONY SZTANDAR in Polish 7-11 Apr 85 p 5

[Interview with Aeroklub Chairman Gen Bryg Dr Pilot Wladyslaw Hermaszewski, by Igor Paja: "In an Airplane, Hang Glider, Balloon..."]

[Text] [Question]: During the past 40 years Poles have set 104 world records and won 98 medals in European and world competitions in air sports. This is an impressive contribution. But is the Polish Flying Club [Aeroklub PRL] still maintaining its old traditions?

[Answer]: Yes, our engineers created the first successful designs back before World War I, when the first test flights were also made in those machines. There were also sports competitions, like the flights made by Michal Scipio del Campo. These were the beginnings. Aviation developed very rapidly in the world between 1914 and 1918, for military purposes, of course.

In the reborn republic aviation enjoyed the society's friendly interest. The Poznan Flying Club was already in existence by the year 1919, with the Flying Club of the Polish Republic [Aeroklub RP] following 3 years later.

[Question]: Aviation represented a visiting card of the Second Republic.

[Answer]: And an excellent one. The proof of this is the designs which earned us a leading world position in terms of technical progress in this area, along with success in sports. As a footnote I should mention that the pilots were not the only stars.

It was because of the Polish teams' triple victory in 1933, 1934, and 1935 in the James Gordon Bennett balloon competitions that the cup came to reside at the club headquarters. In 1939 Lwow was designated as the spot for successive competitions, proof of recognition for our achievements in this area. They were to have begun on 3 September 1939.

But Polish aviation faced yet a more difficult trial, and emerged victorious. Some of the most beautiful pages in our history are participation in defensive warfare, in the air Battle for Britain, our country's liberation by people's aviation.

[Question] Returning to the prewar period, one could get the impression that the development of aviation came before the country's economic development.



The successes must have depended on the qualities inherent in the people involved in this area. Could we find here the influence of national character here?

[Answer]: The national character, which, as you know, is a question open to discussion, is a separate subject altogether that we could take up at another time, but it is well known that in the 1920's most of the pilots came out of the cavalry, so there was a certain courage among those people, a tendency to pursue lives of adventure, first in the saddle, and all this also finally got them into the cockpit.

It is worth mentioning here that back in those times aviation was very open. There was room for people from the most far-reaching circles of society, and it could be no other way. In the air each was put to the hard test, during which all that counted were one's physical and psychological qualities.

[Question]: Surely the devastation of war did not favor the sports base.

[Answer]: We had to start just about from zero. A few buildings were saved, but there was no equipment at all. But gradually we began to rebuild, and after just a few years we could talk again about general training of youth in air sports.

[Question]: Today there are two large sectors of aviation in operation, civil and military. Where does the flying club fit in between the two?

[Answer]: It is the "aviation preschool." It is regional flying clubs that are charged with the recruitment, selection, and basic training of all boys and girls who want to cast their lot with aviation, both civil and military.

The future of our aviation is going to depend on how this work is done, on how successful they are with combining training with the formation of the personalities of young people, and on whether real talent is overlooked.

[Question]: Are girls trained there too?

[Answer]: Of course. This year one of them will begin studying at the WOSL Deblin [Aviation Officers' Academy]. We have had several young ladies enter military aviation. For example, 2 years ago Col Pilot Zofia Andrychowska entered the reserves [from active duty], after 30 years' service in various posts, most recently as commander of an air unit.

[Question]: Are the flying clubs in a position to offer the possibility of flying to all the people who would like to fly?

[Answer]: Unfortunately, our resources are not great enough. To make things worse, during the 1970's the sudden departure of a large proportion of the instructors resulted from the development of civil aviation. The matter is a simple one: the flying clubs could not offer the financial rewards that companies established to conduct economic activity could.

Today we train without restrictions those people who have stated they were applying to the WOSL in Deblin, as well as those who exhibit great sports ability. For this reason too we try to make other aviation-oriented sports and activities available as widely as possible to youth: model building, parachute jumping, gliding, and ballooning. After all the normal road of a pilot's development progresses through the various stages of initiation.

[Question]: Do contact with building model airplanes, making parachute jumps, and going up in a balloon attract the young person and bind him to aviation? Are there many examples of young people from rural environments who have undergone such a transformation?

[Answer]: We do not have to go too far for an example. I myself come from the country, being born in a village. Similarly, my brother Mirosław did too, and reached the peak among Polish aviators, making an around-the-world flight. My other brother Bogusław is a major in aviation.

My road to aviation was somewhat shorter. The war determined it. But Mirosław began by building models. Later he made parachute jumps, and then he took up gliding. Finally he went to Deblin to school and served in one unit after another.

You talked about young people from the country. On the basis of many years of practical experience in military aviation I can tell you that we usually make better use of young people from the country than those brought up in large cities. They are in better physical health and are more hardy psychologically than others their age.

[Question]: Two tendencies have been notable in the air sports for some time. On the one hand you see fantastic technical progress, and on the other the attempt to create simple equipment making it possible to glide through space so that a person has no barrier separating him from the environment.

[Answer]: This is why hang gliders have enjoyed such exceptional popularity and balloons are having a real renaissance. We are having a few problems with hang gliders. It is astounding that industry cannot supply the right duraluminum pipe and fabric. Besides, the prices of hang gliders have gone up tremendously. A simple design which still leaves a great deal to be desired today costs 160,000 zlotys. I think this is absurd. The price should be more along the lines of that of a motorbike.

The society's interest in balloon sport has been rebuilt by Poles' successes in the restored James Gordon Bennett competitions in 1983, a first place 2 years ago, and third and fourth places last year.

Balloons have recently been funded by Scouting [ZHP] and the editors of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. Efforts are also being made by LOK and the Orlat Flying Club at WOSL in Deblin. We are pleased with this.

Ballooning provides unforgettable experiences and is of great value in training and moral formation. This is why we are supporting ZIELONY SZTANDAR's initiative in building a balloon for rural youth. A special section of the flying club will give fund-raisers and sponsors all the necessary help to build and operate the "Zielony Sztandar" airship.

[Question]: In your opinion as vice chairman of the Zielony Sztandar Airship Construction and Operation Committee, what program elements do you think should be taken into account during balloon operation?

[Answer]: First of all, the training of young people from villages and small towns, and sports events.

There should also be attractions at celebrations and festivals related to popular movements and rural areas. This will, after all, symbolize the relationship between our aviation and these groups, proof that those young people who desire to take up air sports will be able to fulfill their dreams.

[Question]: Thank you for the interview.

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POLAND

#### BRIEFS

**PRIEST UNDER INVESTIGATION**--The regional prosecutor's office in Ketrzyn decided to begin an investigation in the case of Father Edward Golinski, a vicar priest from Srokowo near Ketrzyn. He is accused of slapping the face of a 19 year old student of an electro-mechanical school in Ketrzyn, when the student did not greet the priest in a Catholic manner near a State Motor Transport bus stop on 29 May [No video available] [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 7 Jun 85 LD]

**POREBSKI ATTENDS LUBLIN PLENUM**--A joint plenum of the Voivodship PZPR Committee, the Voivodship Auditing Commission, and the Voivodship Party Control Commission in Lublin on 3 June was devoted to discussing the tasks which face voivodship party organizations, their cells, and members in the campaign for the Sejm elections. It was stressed that all party members should actively participate in the election campaign. Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, discussed the task that faces the party before the Sejm elections. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jun 85 p 2 AU]

**ROMANIK, BEDNARSKI IN KATOWICE**--PZPR Politburo member Jerzy Romanik and Central Committee secretary Henryk Bednarski attended the plenum of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee, which examined the conditions in the region under the resolution of the 19th CC plenum should be implemented. H. Bednarski said that the country's achievements so far confirm the huge potential of the Polish intelligentsia and its growing role in society. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 85 pp 1, 5 AU]

**HUNGARIAN COOPERATION**--On 29 May, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda received Hungarian ambassador Cyoergy Biczo in order to discuss industrial cooperation and trade between both countries. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 85 p 5 AU]

**CUBAN ECONOMIC DELEGATION**--On the invitation of Edward Zachajkiewicz, chairman of the State Economic Arbitration Office, a delegation from the Cuban National State Arbitration Organ headed by Miguel Reyes Salia, chief arbiter, arrived in Poland on 27 May. The visit will last until 3 June, its purpose being to gain an insight into the experience of Polish economic arbitration. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 85 p 5 AU]

FINNISH TRADE UNIONISTS--A delegation from the Finnish Trade Union of Employees in the Leather and Rubber Industry headed by Kalevi Urpelainen, its secretary general, visited Poland on 21-28 May on the invitation of the Council of the Federation of Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions in the Light Industry. The Finnish guests attended talks with trade union activists in the light industry. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 85 p 5 AU]

POLISH-PORTUGUESE POLITICAL TALKS--Polish-Portuguese political consultations took place in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 28 and 29 May. The Polish side was headed by Eugeniusz Noworyt, director of department four of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the Portuguese side was headed by Pedro Ribeiro de Meneses, deputy director general of political affairs in the Portuguese Foreign Ministry. During the talks, views were exchanged on complex international problems, with special regard to the situation in Europe, as well as in the Middle East, Central America, and southern Africa. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 85 p 5 AU]

JOINT SOVIET SEMINAR--A Polish-Soviet seminar on the subject of the leading role of the party in a socialist society took place at the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences. It was attended by a five-man group of scholars from the CPSU CC Institute of Marxism-Leninism and Academy of Social Sciences, headed by Professor Petr Rodionov, first deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 May 85 p 2 AU]

SOVIET MILITARY DELEGATION--A delegation from the Belorussian Military District headed by Colonel-General Vladimir visited the Warsaw Military District. The delegation was received by General of Arms Eugeniusz Molczyk, vice minister of national defense and chief inspector of training. The Soviet guests visited units of the Warsaw Military District, including the Sixth Pomeranian Parachute Division, the Podhale Unit of Internal Defense Forces, a unit of Pioneers, and the Higher School of Officers in Communications Forces. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 May 85 p 2 AU]

GOMULKA ANTHOLOGY FROM PRIVATE SOURCES--The editorial committee for the compilation of the collected works of Waldyslaw Gomulka, set up by politburo resolution, has decided that when editing the work, it will be essential to use not only materials from relevant scientific institutes but information and materials in the possession of individuals as well. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0500 GMT 9 Jun 85]

JARUZELSKI VISITS ANNIVERSARY EXHIBITION--Warsaw, 2 June (PAP)--PUWP CC first secretary, chairman of the Council of Ministers Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski visited here today an exhibition "Roads to Victory" organized to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty. National Defense Vice-Minister Gen. Jozef Baryla and Vice-Minister of Culture and Art Jerzy Bajdor accompanied Gen. Jaruzelski. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 2 Jun 85]

JARUZELSKI MEETS UK PUBLISHERS--Warsaw, 26 May--On 26 May, the prime minister of the Polish People's Republic, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, received Mr Robert Maxwell, British publisher of the Pergamon Press, and the publisher of the Mirror Group Newspapers Ltd. Sir Thomas McCaffrey, director, public affairs, mgn, took part in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 26 May 85]

ROMANIA

PROCEEDINGS OF APRIL CPSU PLENUM REVIEWED

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 18, 1 May 85 p 15

[Article by Vasile Crisu: "The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The next 10 months will constitute for the Soviet communists, for all the working people in the USSR, a period of feverish and multilateral work on a political, economic, organizational and ideological-theoretical plane, it was pointed out at the recent plenum of the CPSU Central Committee devoted to the convening of the 27th party congress. The report presented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, made a broad survey of the tasks referring to the preparation for and holding of the congress, laying out the main directions of the development of Soviet society in the next 5-year period and up to the end of the century.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 23 April was followed with lively interest for many reasons. First, because it was a question of the party's first forum of importance at which its new leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, had the chance to outline more completely the conceptions that he wants to promote in the near future and later, particularly in the economic field, but also on other planes. Then, because, according to the plenum's topics, there were to be defined the auspices under which the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress (February 1986), regarded in Moscow as "a milestone of a stage" in the country's development, will take place. A stage in which the main accent will be put on achieving a new economic upsurge on the basis of decisive restructurings of a qualitative nature. And, finally, the plenum was followed with interest because of the approaches on the plane of foreign policy, since they were subsequent to the USSR's proposals and unilateral moratorium on the placement of its medium-range missiles and on other countermeasures in Europe (to which the U.S. administration had a negative reaction), to the conclusion of the first stage of the new Soviet-American talks in Geneva, and to the conclusion of another round--the sixth--in the Soviet-Chinese talks on the normalization of mutual relations.

Pointing out that the Soviet Union now has a strong, multilaterally developed economy, skilled personnel, specialists and scientists, holding leading

positions in the world in many directions of the development of production, science and technology, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev stressed at the plenum the necessity--dictated by the very dynamism of life--of new changes and transformations, of the achievement of a qualitatively new level of society. Soviet society's development--the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee judged--will be defined, to a decisive degree, by the qualitative changes in the economy, by its progress along the path of intensive development, by the growth of efficiency in every possible way, it being necessary to judge the national economy's condition and to establish the future tasks from precisely these positions. Indicating that, besides the successes obtained in the country's economic development, in recent years a number of unfavorable trends have grown and a number of difficulties that "are far from being overcome" have appeared, the Soviet leader noted, as a chief cause of this state of affairs, the fact that the changes that have occurred in the objective conditions for the development of production, the necessity of speeding up its intensive development, of changes in the economic methods, have not been evaluated properly and in time and--particularly important in Comrade Gorbachev's judgment--that perseverance has not been exhibited in devising and implementing important measures in the economic sphere.

As followed from the proceedings of the plenum, the matter of substantially speeding up the USSR's economic development was also analyzed thoroughly within the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, there being reached, unanimously, the conclusion that it is completely feasible, if the following will lie in the center of the activity: the intensive development of the economy; the speedup of scientific and technical progress; the restructuring of management and planning and of the investment policy; the growth of the organizational spirit; the strengthening of discipline and the radical improvement of the style of working.

The CPSU puts in the forefront, as a chief strategic factor in intensifying the national economy and using better the potential built up, the task of drastically speeding up scientific and technical progress. Laying stress on this, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev drew attention to the fact that, on this plane, there is a need for revolutionary changes, for the transition to essentially new technological systems, for the highest efficiency, for the retooling of practically all the branches of the national economy on the basis of the modern achievements of science and technology.

In the report presented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, special attention was devoted to the topics connected with running the economy and the economic mechanism on the whole, there being noted the necessity of "seriously improving" them. Developing further the principle of centralization in dealing with the strategic tasks--the Soviet leader indicated--it will be necessary to advance more boldly in the direction of expanding the rights of the enterprises, their autonomy, it will be necessary to introduce economic accounting and, on this basis, to increase the responsibility of the work staffs for and their personal interest in the final results of the activity. The CPSU sees the supreme purpose of speeding up the country's economic and social development in the steady growth of the people's well-being. Now--Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev said--there is posed the problem of devising real measures so that, in the

distribution mechanism, the egalitarianism, the unearned incomes, everything that contravenes the economic norms and the ethical ideals of Soviet society, disappear, and so as to ensure the direct dependence of the financial position of each worker and each staff on the results in work. "It is important for the Soviet people to understand, in the near future, that changes have been made for the better," the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out.

The multilateral activity of preparing for the CPSU congress is conceived by the party's leadership as being meant to contribute to increasing the active spirit and the responsibility of the communists, to increasing the militancy of the party organizations, to strengthening their ties with the masses, to expanding the party's leading role. The Political Bureau--Mikhail Gorbachev indicated, referring to the policy on personnel--considers it to be of principal significance to promote, even further, the line toward providing stability to the party leadership, toward properly combining the experience of the old workers with the labor of the young ones, but without this being accompanied by a cessation of the movement of personnel. In the view of the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary to more boldly promote women and young workers to responsible posts in the future.

As we indicated, an important chapter in the report presented to the plenum by Mikhail Gorbachev referred to a number of problems of international life. The secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee underscored that the Soviet Union favors interstate relations of equality, based on true respect for the norms of international law. "There is not one single nation that wants war. In this reside the immense reserves and possibilities for implementing the policy of peace and progress," Mikhail Gorbachev indicated. He expressed the conviction that a world war can be prevented, but with new efforts being necessary in this regard. Mankind--the Soviet leader said--is faced with a choice: either the continual escalation of the tension and confrontation, or constructive searches for mutually acceptable agreements that would stop the process of material preparation for a nuclear conflict.

Mentioning that, under the complex conditions of the international situation, the USSR accords primordial importance to matters of foreign policy, the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee noted the attention that his country devotes to relations of collaboration with the socialist states. The Soviet Union--he said--will continue to consistently strengthen its mutual relations and to develop its collaboration with the other socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China.

The USSR is also in favor of the continual expansion of multilateral collaboration with the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the development of normal relations, based on equality in rights, with the capitalist countries. The divergent problems and the conflict situations must be resolved by political means--this is our firm conviction, Mikhail Gorbachev indicated, adding that the USSR wants to improve its relations with the United States to their mutual benefit. "Our desire to also improve our relations with the United States, to our mutual benefit and without attempts to limit the legitimate rights and interests of one party or the other, is well known.



The confrontation between the two countries is not necessarily inevitable. If we consider both the positive experience and the negative experience accumulated in the field of Soviet-American relations in the course of history, it must be said that the wisest thing is to search for ways that lead to their placement on the principle of equality, the building of a bridge of collaboration that would be achieved by both parties," the Soviet leader declared.

In connection with the first stage--concluded--of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the incompatibility between the arms race and the disarmament talks is obvious, with the Soviet Union being determined to not favor such a line. The USSR--the Soviet leader indicated--will pursue persistently the achievement of concrete, mutually acceptable agreements that would permit not only the cessation of the arms race but also the obtaining of progress along the path of disarmament.

12105

CSO: 2700/158

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBS' OUT-MIGRATION FROM SOUTHERN SERBIA CAUSES CONCERN

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1790, 21 Apr 85  
pp 29-30

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "The Last Try"]

[Text] Out-migration from the south of Serbia has not been stopped in spite of the exceeding effort which has been made. The outflow is not what it once was, but these resettlements are quite sufficient for those who have prepared them for more than 20 years and finally achieved them to continue to rub their hands in satisfaction. Overflowing with despair, some of them impoverished, the Serbs are departing northward, leaving behind the homesteads they held for centuries. Some, to be sure, are also returning, but that hope, joy and uplift which the returnee brings with him are not enough at present.

The foregoing accounts for the assertion that the unrealistic must become the real here in Bujanovac, Presevo and Medvedja. The emigres here, put simply, must return regardless of the effort and the price. In the south of Serbia, then, one must be realistic and demand the impossible. Everything else leads toward an ethnically homogeneous region and realization of the dream which the Albanian irredenta has had for many years. The reader has an exclusive right to speculate on his own as to what would eventually happen were that to take place.

A battle is being waged in the south of Serbia which is every bit as important as the one in Kosovo. Some are even inclined to attribute more significant destinations to it.

Cursed Resettlements

Between 1960 and the counterrevolution in Kosovo in the spring of 1981 slightly less than 17,000 Serbs moved out of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac. Those resettlements have persisted before the very eyes of an organized state and during that time not a single agency of that state has uttered a word in public about it: driven by parity, by a desire for a better life, and finally, by the most evil enemy--the Albanian irredenta, people have looked for salvation on the periphery of the larger cities in the north of Serbia.

A report prepared for the last meeting of the Serbian LC Interopstina Conference in Leskovac states: "... it is evident from the data of the opstina committees of the Serbian LC in Bujanovac, Presevo and Medvedja that the out-migration of Serbian inhabitants is still taking place. The facts show that in 1984 the number of Serbian inhabitants decreased. A large number of people have migrated toward more advanced communities in the region and republic. Aside from the out-migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from mixed communities, there has also been out-migration from compact communities where there could not have been direct pressures.... In 1984, 236 Serbs gave notice of moving out of Bujanovac and 133 from Presevo, while 516 left Medvedja Opstina. Only seven of all those moving out of these opstinas had proof that they moved under the direct pressure of Albanian nationalism...."

"I was a young lad and I remember well when in 1959 the first Albanian moved into our village," says Vojislav Mitic, head of the local office in the village Biljaca. "He bought the house of some Greek, and we received him well, and he stayed here. Everything has changed now, just a quarter of a century later. Today only 246 of the approximately 3,600 inhabitants of the village are Serbs, and most of them are elderly. Before I took this job, I was an instructor of the Serbian language in a rural school. If there had not been three little Gypsy boys in that school, the Serbian language would not have been heard in the first grade classroom. This year once again none of the Serbs will have a child to enroll in the first grade. We are simply dying out here."

Mitic, the head of the local office, refers to the program for halting the out-migration of Serbs from the south of Serbia as "make-believe," a word he makes abundant use of. Even he himself, he says, has begun to build a house in Smederevska Palanka. "I do not see how we will stop people from moving out. For years we have been left at the mercy of the Albanian nationalists. The situation at the moment is much better than a few years ago, but it is far from good. People are frightened, and it will take quite some time before they rid themselves of that fear. Until that time, unfortunately, they will be moving out. For example, one can't just forget a rape whose perpetrators were not punished, this leaves an indelible trace, with disastrous consequences."

The village Biljaca is located off to the left of the road to Skoplje, between Bujanovac and Presevo. Viewed from the road it seems idyllic, a place where one would like to stop and rest and talk a bit with the happy people who live there. That is how it appears from down below, from the road. When you hear that 180 Serbian families and 60 Gypsy families have moved out of it forever and that almost every one which has remained has a building lot or has begun to build a house somewhere else, the picture of idyllic village life vanishes in an instant.

#### Gradual Conquest

The ethnic pattern has changed here in the south, and it is continuing to change, almost overnight. In Presevo Opstina only 8 of the 35 settlements in 1961 had no Serbs, and only 3 had no Albanians. Twenty years later there were

no Serbs in all of 18 villages, and as for the Albanians, the situation remained the same. The situation is still more drastic in the larger neighboring Bujanovac Opstina: in 1961 there were no Serbs in only 6 of the 59 Bujanovac villages and no Albanians in 35. Just 20 years later only five villages remained with no Serbs, and Albanians had moved into eight new villages.

These were the figures before the counterrevolution in Kosovo. It certainly speeded up the out-migration of Serbs.

Last week an interopstina conference of the LC in the South Morava Region was held in Leskovac to discuss "halting the out-migration of Serbs and other inhabitants from Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja Opstinas." Radisa Gacic, secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, who was a guest at that meeting according to POLITIKA, said: "... that the present situation ... is considerably better than in 1981, but we cannot be satisfied, since we are comparing it to a situation when it was very difficult.... I would support those views which hold that there will be problems in those communities until the situation is straightened out in Kosovo. It is therefore an obligation of all, above all the League of Communists, to resolve the problems in Kosovo more rapidly...."

Ljubomir Pavlovic, secretary of the presidium of the opstina committee, an old settler in Bujanovac, Ramiz Fazliju, a political scientist who graduated 10 years ago or so from Zagreb University with the help of the Republic Student Scholarship Fund, were present at the interview with Hajrus Sadriju, president of the Serbian LC Committee in Bujanovac Opstina, and Alit Demiri, chairman of the trade unions in the same opstina, was also there for a time. The latter did not make any statement for NIN, Pavlovic confined himself to the figures, avoiding comment on them and leaving that right to chairman Sadriju. Ramiz Fazliju was extremely hospitable and certainly the best educated.

The interview had been scheduled the day before, so that chairman Sadriju already had the prepared data in front of him and the explanations. He spoke about "migration from backward Bujanovac Opstina," especially emphasizing that its "principal causes were the economic and social welfare status of the inhabitants."

To be sure, he also did not leave out "nationalism and the irredenta in Kosovo, which have also had an effect on our own opstina."

"In Bujanovac there are about 5,000 employed persons and slightly more than 2,000 seeking employment," Hajrus Sadriju added. "There are about 1,500 people abroad, predominantly Albanians. That is the situation, although in 1984 several plants of larger firms in the north of the republic were opened. As for out-migration, we have a duty to stop it. We have had considerable success in this, since last year and in January of this year only 17 families moved out of mixed villages and 6 from villages where all the inhabitants are Serbs. When we speak about out-migration, we cannot bypass the fact that Albanian nationalism is still being felt today and is one of the reasons why people are moving out. Since 1961 about 5,000 Serbs have moved out. About 200 have given notice that they are returning, and last year we employed 105. We are not able to meet the requests of all the returnees."

People here are worried and frightened as well. In Presevo we talked with a high opstina official who called our particular attention to how we quoted him, since "one sentence of yours cannot only ruin my career, which I don't care about, but it could have consequences for my children forever."

A man can be expected quite reliably to explode if the reason you give him for the out-migration of Serbs from the south of his own republic is the "absence of culture and entertainment," and only then, just in passing, the "pressure and unfavorable political 'atmosphere.'" That was done for decades, and today when you ask responsible people why this happened, they all shrug their shoulders.

It is more important to explore solutions of how to stop the out-migration than to go on talking nonsense indefinitely about who is to blame for the thousands of innocent people leaving their homes and fields. Let bygones be bygones, they say. The important thing today is to halt the out-migration and then for as many of them as possible, at whatever price, to return.

"If there are not enough Serbs, and there are not enough, that means that even those few will also leave," says Dusan Markovic, vice president of the Presevo Opstina Assembly. "Such a small number cannot survive because of the minority feeling and the lack of prospects. The old people, and they are in the majority, will die off and there will then be still fewer Serbs than today. That is why we have to do everything so that as many of them as possible return and indeed even create the conditions for people to come who never were here."

#### A Happy People

Anyone who thinks for a moment that the people here will be able to halt the out-migration with their own energies is quite naive. If Presevo, Medvedja and Bunanovac are left to themselves and their own troubles, that region will become ethnically homogeneous in the foreseeable future; that is, there will be no Serbs, Montenegrins or Gypsies in it.... Above all, there are urgent matters down there which have to be painfully and persistently handled by the entire republic. The fact that the government has become economically weak at this point must not be a reason for making a scant investment down there. It is obvious that quite a bit has been done in this connection, but it is also true that there is still more left to be done.

Those familiar with the situation add that in quite a few places, and indeed even in Presevo itself, the irredenta has done its work. If there are too few Serbs left, and a majority of them have building lots or have begun to build houses in other parts of the republic, then it is obvious that time is working for the Albanian nationalists. The return of those who have left is the only way of defeating the enemy.

On this trip lasting several days through the south of Serbia the photo reporter we traveled with was very happy with the job done in Presevo. He managed to take pictures of Serbs and Albanians in friendly conversation. These were elderly people and they were wearing the sajaka [a cap worn by Serbian peasants adapted from the World War I soldier's cap] and sheepskin vest:

brotherhood and unity as reporters would often like to see it. Yet they talked to us a great deal, but not for the record, about how the Serbs and Albanians do not associate with one another here unless they are forced to to get something done. The confidence shaken since the spring of 1981 has after all not yet been restored.

And that is a fact that seriously complicates the situation.

7045

CSO: 2800/332

YUGOSLAVIA

WESTERN REPORT ON 'VERBAL CRIMES,' JURISTS MEETING

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Jun 85 p 4

[Excerpts] SFRY Assembly delegate Brajovic has proposed to the president of the Assembly Federal Chamber's Committee for Internal Affairs that this committee discuss the question of "verbal crimes" in the Yugoslav criminal code. Brajovic explained that this question had been discussed for a long time both within and outside of Yugoslavia and obviously has to do with human rights.

Yugoslav writers at their congress in Novi Sad recently asked for the removal or at least decisive change of article 133 of the criminal code relating to verbal crimes. A political judge in Zagreb, Ivanic, in his closing statement at the trial of the alleged "terrorists" and "nationalists" in Zagreb (obviously on order from the doctrinaire Croatian leaders) said he would fight to the end of his life to retain article 133 in the criminal code, and that the writers in Novi Sad are "not proper writers."

Last week representatives of all Yugoslav law faculties meeting in Ljubljana came to the conclusion that article 133, to be sure, could not be done away with but should be changed in some parts. The article had originated with one of Rankovic's...closest collaborators, it was said.

These jurists no longer want to uphold as an independent crime "the malicious or incorrect representation of the sociopolitical relations in the country," but rather only in conjunction with the other crimes cited in article 133. Additional penalties [they believe] should be removed for all crimes listed as committed against the socialist order "with the help of a foreign country."

These changes would still remain highly incomprehensible for relations in a democratic state, but could make more difficult at least some of the worst arbitrary actions arising from article 133 which continually occur especially in the republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The jurists gathered in Ljubljana said that manipulation of this and other paragraphs in the code had led to "abuses" in some republics and had consequently limited the constitutional rights of Yugoslav citizens. Some of the jurists expressly noted the harsh penalties continuing to be handed out against young people in Kosovo; and there was open talk in this regard of "expanded repression."

CSO: 2300/430

YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS CONFERENCE ON ECONOMY

Ante Markovic Speech

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 85 pp 1, 4-5

[Speech delivered by Ante Markovic, member of the Croatian LC Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Croatia, in Zagreb on 17 May 1985 at the Third Conference of the Croatian LC]

[Text] The political-ideological aspects of the conception of SR Croatia's medium-term development from 1986 to 1990 were the principal topic of the Third Conference of the Croatian LC, which began its 2 days of work on Friday with the opening address of Ante Markovic, member of the Croatian LC Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Croatia. The report on the work of the Croatian LC Central Committee between the Second and Third Conferences of the Croatian LC and the report on the work program of the Croatian LC Central Committee up to the 10th Congress of the Croatian LC were on the agenda. Mitja Ribicic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee participated in the conference's work as a representative of the highest body of the party.

The conference was opened by Mika Spiljak, chairman of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee. According to the operating procedure, delegates elected in opstina organizations of the Croatian LC, members of the Croatian LC Central Committee, members of the Bylaws and Oversight Commissions of the Croatian LC, members of the LCY Central Committee from SR Croatia and members of the Bylaws and Oversight Commissions of the LCY from SR Croatia have the status of delegates at the conference.

According to the report of the Certification Commission, 321 delegates were participating in the conference, 209 of them elected in opstina organizations of the Croatian LC. A majority of the delegates were workers in physical production and party members who entered the LCY between 1963 and 1972 and those in the age group between 36 and 45. Women also represented 20 percent of the delegates. The delegates passed the motion from the operating procedure that time be limited to 15 minutes.

In the morning session of the conference 14 delegates took the floor. In the discussions the delegates spoke most about the practical examples of their own



collectives, which have turned to an ever greater extent and more and more effectively toward exports of products and services. In some places it has already been established that the product mix and technology must be changed, since at present they are not sufficiently attractive for the domestic market, much less the foreign market. Moves toward pooling have also begun to be more serious than up to now. The absence of specific programs and plans is an obstacle to faster pooling and establishment of business ties.

The delegates called attention to the strained conditions for the conduct of economic activity and the intolerable duality in product quality--poorer products intended for the domestic market and better products for the foreign market. Stress was placed on the need for much more responsible behavior on the part of the entire employed labor force, but also administrative and other structures outside the economy. There was also a call for negligence, crime and oversights not to be treated any longer as mere mistakes, but for all this to be treated as a part of tightening work discipline and technological discipline and responsibility.

There was a call from the rostrum of the third conference for party members to commit themselves and win the fight for specific development programs based on the real capabilities of collectives and of entire activities, which will guarantee more rapid forward movement--larger and more reliable and lasting income and a higher standard of employment.

The conference is continuing its work.

[Address by Ante Markovic] Development Based on the Export Orientation

The decision to begin work on the Long-Range Development Plan of SR Croatia up to the Year 2000 was adopted back in early 1982. It was then that work began on the scientific research project entitled "Scientific Bases of SR Croatia's Long-Range Development up to the Year 2000," Ante Markovic, member of the Croatian LC Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Croatia, said at the beginning of his address at the Third Conference of the Croatian LC.

Some 30 partial studies and an introductory study were prepared as part of that project, in which 24 scientific research institutions were involved, including the institutes of "Rade Koncar," "Pliva," INA, "Djuro Djakovic" and the Economics Institute of Zagreb, which was also the specialized coordinator of the entire project. About 500 researchers worked on that task.

After that two documents were drafted: "Analysis of SR Croatia's Development Over the Period 1981-1985 and of the Potential for Socioeconomic Development During the Period 1986-1990" and "Proposed Guidelines for Drafting the Social Plan of Croatia and Development Plans of Self-Managing Organizations and Communities and Sociopolitical Communities in Croatia Over the Period 1986-1990."

## Causes of the Difficulties

That is, the period from 1981 to 1985 represents a phase of economic development in which Yugoslavia and especially Croatia face extremely aggravated problems in carrying on the process of reproduction, whose intensity in the middle of the period threatened to have major adverse economic, social welfare and indeed broader social consequences. They were especially manifested in the high foreign exchange and dinar illiquidity, interruption of flows of reproduction within the country, the slowing down and decline of production in many activities, a shortage of goods on the market, inflation, the decline of real personal incomes and the standard of living in general, which almost resulted in a suspension of the features embodying the system in many areas and a strengthening of administrative interventions.

An analysis of the causes which generated that kind of situation, viewed in a broader framework and from a more long-range standpoint, takes us into the seventies and especially the second half of the seventies, when socioeconomic development was considerably influenced by administrative decisions, development commitments based on wishes and voluntaristic decisions, without sufficient respect for the laws of economics and the physical capabilities of the development projected in that way. This especially applies to the development plan covering the period from 1976 to 1980, which was worked up from a mistaken conception of development and the economic policy conducted on the basis of it.

## Foreign Debt

That conception was based on as many as 11 development priorities, which centered upon very large-scale investment projects oriented primarily toward the infrastructure and heavy industrial sectors, that is, capital-intensive and energy-intensive industries. We did not have enough accumulation of our own for such investment projects, which were considerably beyond the growth rate of the social product and the national income, so the solution was found in additional capital from abroad. Thanks to the policy of an unrealistic rate of exchange of the dinar and unrealistically low interest rates conducted over long years, it seemed very attractive to plan our own development on the basis of foreign capital. That is why the projection of Yugoslavia's balance of payments for the period 1976 to 1980 envisaged use of \$11.5 billion of foreign credit, but the actual borrowing during those 5 years amounted to all of \$12.3 billion, and that brought the country's total debt, which on 31 December 1975 amounted to about \$6.5 billion, up to \$18.8 billion at the end of that 5-year period.

Accordingly, the concept of development was based on priorities which involved very large investment projects financed largely with foreign credit, but not involving any obligation for those programs to prove their worth on the world market and guarantee repayment of the foreign debts which were incurred. That is, the foreign exchange market did exist, and one needed only to have dinars to buy foreign exchange. A race began, first of all of the republics and provinces, and then, within them, of regions, cities, and so on for pieces of that investment pie. That is why for several years it was not possible for many agreements to be adopted on development programs.

During that period the same process was also taking place in our own republic, resulting in entry into large investment projects increasing our republic's debt, which on 31 December 1975 amounted to about \$1.2 billion to \$3.6 billion in 1981, an increase of \$2.4 billion.

An unrealistically high level of domestic demand was created under those conditions, and it, supported by high imports, representing 15.7 percent of annual growth, afforded a dynamic acceleration of the growth of the social product at 7.8 percent, an 8-percent growth of the physical volume of industrial output and an annual 4.7-percent rise of employment. However, these trends brought about a great disruption of economic stability, which still was not sufficiently obvious.

Not only was unrealistic demand formed on the basis of such unrealistic trends, but also anticipative financing of all forms of expenditure from a portion of the social product that came about in that way and indeed even beyond it, beginning with the resources to meet government and social service needs, which increased 54 percent faster than the social product, and ending with personal incomes, which in real terms increased 28.6 percent faster than labor productivity.

As we see, we had a very high growth rate in which all forms of expenditure surged and when we truly were living beyond our real means.

Dynamic economic growth based almost exclusively on a good domestic market, along with an annual dropoff of exports at a rate of 1.8 percent and a 56.3-percent rise in the trade deficit soon resulted in the emergence of the first symptoms of the future problems in the entire economic mechanism.

In the second half of that period all of this was compounded by the second oil crisis, the very rapid increase in petroleum prices, the very high growth of interest rates on the world market, recessionary trends and the reduction of international trade and the steady strengthening of the dollar's exchange rate, which had a baneful effect on all the developing countries and thereby on Yugoslavia as well.

This led Comrade Tito to conclude as follows in a meeting of the SFRY State Presidency in the 3d month of 1979:

"When we leave this meeting, we must above all be mindful of the domestic economic situation. We have to put certain investment projects off. We have to accumulate more capital in case the most difficult time should come. Today is the time when the plans of our development must be revised in view of the international situation."

#### Investments Cut in Half

In the 1981-1985 plan we tried to make up for the errors of omission which had been made, but the enormous investments carried over, which in our republic alone embraced nearly 5,000 projects under construction, whose estimated cost at that time was 273 billion dinars in prices at the beginning of 1981, with

high cost overruns, extended construction times, frequently dubious production and financial results and credits which had come due for payment, combined with an increasingly restrictive monetary-credit policy and a growth of the gross outflow of resources on the basis of repayment of the foreign debt, failure to work out the prices of certain products, and so on, resulted in the ever more pronounced illiquidity of the economy and the banks, especially in our republic.

Even though some of the obligations were rescheduled in 1982 and 1983, our republic alone had to repay nearly \$3 billion against the debt, whereby the net balance of the debt was reduced by about \$575 million. At the same time the economy's inability to reorient in a short time from sales on the domestic markets to export was too large a burden for the republic's economy to be able to prevent a dropoff in production and overall economic activity. This situation in the field of production and foreign trade additionally accentuated the aggravated expression of all other disjointed aspects of the process of reproduction as well, which was particularly manifested in the decline of dinar liquidity and of all forms of final consumption and labor productivity, the drop in the standard of living, occurrences of shortages of certain products on the domestic market, higher costs and losses, dynamic inflation and depreciation of the value of the dinar, etc.

Under the pressure of those trends very tight reins were placed on construction of capital investment projects. Construction of a number of infrastructural projects was halted (highways, railroads, ships, petroleum, the petrochemical industry) either completely or partially in a particular phase of construction, whereby nominal investments during 1984 were almost at the same levels as in 1981, while in real terms they were more than cut in half. Liquidation proceedings and bankruptcy were also conducted on some of the mistaken capital investment projects.

Then came the period of the halt in the decline of output and the initial preconditions began to be created for mitigating the economic difficulties, so that in 1985, on the basis of the increased inflow of foreign exchange and the rescheduling of some of the fixed and guaranteed obligations abroad, exports increased, and there was a related 6-percent growth of industrial output, which halted the drop of production and at the same time achieved a relatively sizable 15-percent growth of total exports, which made it possible, for the first time in a number of years, to create a surplus of \$320 million in the exchange balance with the convertible area.

Resolving the problem of foreign exchange illiquidity simply could not be put off nor avoided, so that, of course, it could not fail to have consequences in all other areas as well. It might even be said that thanks to our system's ability and adaptability the influence of these problems, especially in the case of production, was less than might have been anticipated. This is evident from the results--from the growth of industrial output and exports and agricultural production, the results in tourism, all the way to transportation and the fuel and power industry, where under the very problematical conditions of this winter were able through a well-thought-out policy and organization to avoid the reductions which were inevitable in the previous period.

However, it was not possible to resolve the problems of foreign exchange and dinar illiquidity without affecting all other areas and without lowering the standard of living and affecting the movement of prices.

#### The Price of the Administrative Approach

Of course, the issue is still outstanding whether everything in the area of prices and then also the standard of living really had to take the course it did. In our opinion, the long-standing practice of replacing the principles of free setting of prices with government regulations and price freezes actually only stimulated processes of instability and made it impossible for organizations of associated labor to conduct business policy on a more long-term basis in the price sector and thereby to assume responsibility for their own sales and income. Actually this removed the problems of prices and therefore income as well further and further from the work organization and from associated labor.

It is clear that the issue of both the standard of living and prices cannot be resolved without increasing output, and that cannot take place without augmenting exports and on that basis raising labor productivity and increasing income. The level of inflation is certainly one of the most difficult economic and political problems, and therefore the fight against it is among the most important tasks. However, they can be worked out only over a lengthy period of time and according to a different concept of development which will compel more optimum, efficient and productive conduct of business. That is why the entire future program of development should in essence be an anti-inflation program as well.

A faster growth of the social product and dynamic foreign trade are planned for 1985, and it is on that basis that the trend toward the further decline in final consumption would be halted. While activity to mitigate the problems of foreign exchange and dinar illiquidity would be continued, and relative balance would be established between supply and demand, the formation of the necessary physical, financial, incentive and other factors and conditions for gradually establishing more dynamic, stable and balanced economic development would thereby begin in 1985.

#### The Concept of Development

In the next period a number of qualitative and quantitative changes are to be accomplished in almost all the spheres of the process of reproduction and a strategy and policy of economic development are to be shaped which will at the same time and in their mutual linkage afford every opportunity for simultaneously resolving the difficulties referred to in the following ways:

- i. maximization of economic growth and income on more balanced domestic and external foundations;
- ii. considerably greater inclusion in the international division of labor and exploitation of comparative advantages;

iii. productive employment of all available resources along with higher efficiency of their use;

iv. structural changes in production and consumption whereby bottlenecks will be eliminated in current reproduction and foreign trade, combined with raising the engineering-technological, scientific and in general qualitative level and features of the economy and society;

v. stabilization of the totality of economic and social flows.

Although achievement of such a complicated set of tasks in economic policy, viewed from the standpoint of the present situation and relations in the economy, will neither be simple nor devoid of additional sacrifices, it is imposing itself as a necessity, and if it is not achieved, the economy of SR Croatia and of the entire country could in a relatively short time get into serious difficulties once again. Since economic development in the coming period will be a significant further testing of the flexibility and propulsiveness of the entire system, which demonstrated its vitality even in the problematical conditions of operation in 1982 and 1983, that is, its ability to mobilize all economic and social entities and with the strength of economic logic to guide them toward seeking out solutions and toward practical behavior which would maximally realize individual and social interests at the same time.

It must focus on a considerable growth of exports of goods and services as the key direction of development. This should make it possible to accomplish qualitative changes in the character of economic development, with emphasis on greater openness of the economy to the criteria and impulses of the world market and on constructing the business policy and business decisions of organizations of associated labor on them, strengthening the efficiency of the factors in overall development and improvement of quality and the product mix. At the same time we need to furnish additional foreign exchange to finance the greater needs for imports, especially from the standpoint of importation of petroleum and equipment, as well as foreign exchange so that credit obligations abroad can be discharged promptly.

#### Conception of an Open Economy

That means that we are talking about a set of tasks and qualitative changes which cannot be accomplished without a new conception of development, the conception of an open economy whose basic method of accomplishment is exports, exports above all to the convertible area.

So, we look on export as a method of the highest quality to rapidly introduce economic criteria considerably more than we now have them in the conduct of economic activity, criteria which will liberate economic laws considerably more rapidly and will introduce the operation of the market mechanism to a considerably greater extent and thereby facilitate the processes of the further development of the socialist system of self-management. Accordingly, exports as the principal activity for carrying out our conception of the open economy is becoming a sine qua non.

Proceeding on the basis of everything we have said so far about the goals and tasks of socioeconomic development up to the year 1990, the basis of the orientation in development should be all those production operations, products and services at a high level of processing which by virtue of their quality, design and other features can be sold on the world market with satisfactory income efficiency. That is, we are not talking about the priority activities, but about every production in all activities which withstands world criteria and which represents technological progress and affords an opportunity to become part of the world market.

The production orientation which starts with the effectiveness of production programs can guarantee more dynamic growth and a new qualitative aspect in overall development. That indeed means that programs which start with utilizing our own resources, such as agriculture, wood manufacturing and tourism can be supported by long-range and short-range economic policy if they verify their ability to develop on the world market, and that above all by exporting their products and services. This, of course, applies to any industrial production operation, including that which is the bearer of technological progress.

Development on the basis of the concept of the open economy, which constitutes the basic commitment of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, constitutes the only qualitative development solution not only for our own republic, but for the entire Yugoslav community. We are convinced that without such a conception of development we will not be able either to deal with the urgent economic problems, nor achieve any significant advance in development of the relations of socialist self-management.

#### Development Potential

In spite of numerous restrictions--which we will be coming back to--our development potential is very sizable. If we make proper use of it, we can achieve enviable results. This potential basically consists of the following:

- i. existence of a clear and definite conception and strategy of medium-term and long-term development, which opens up new prospects for development on qualitative foundations;
- ii. the capabilities and advantages of our socioeconomic system of self-management to develop the kind of system of incentives (further work is needed in this regard) which will strongly motivate every individual and work collective to maximize its economic results and a more qualitative attitude toward work, and in which their work abilities and specialized abilities, responsibilities and performance will be fully manifested;
- iii. the effects which can be achieved by improving the level of organization at all levels and in all units of society, the potential for which is very large, and the establishment of association and specialization to reduce unnecessary administration, parallelism of all kinds, unnecessary work, etc.;

iv. sizable production capacity in all economic activities, especially industry, agriculture and tourism, many of which are now underutilized, as well as considerably better and more efficient use of working capital, which is an area where the potential is very great;

v. sizable economic resources which, although SR Croatia is not particularly rich in raw materials, still represent a large value and our development opportunity, such as farmland, timber resources, reserves of petroleum and natural gas, water reserves, especially the sea, nonmetallic minerals and a favorable geographic and transportation position;

vi. production capacity (agriculture, tourism, small business) which is privately owned and also the resources of our citizens employed abroad temporarily. A certain policy could enlist those capacities and that potential, linked up with the socialized economy, to carry out the conception of development which has been set forth;

vii. Yugoslavia's favorable international position as a nonaligned country and the friendly ties, especially with the developing countries, and also the economic cooperation that has already been achieved with the advanced countries of the West and the countries of eastern Europe.

Our potential for development, then, is not small. It is up to our sense of organization, unity and capability, then, to turn that potential into development performance not only for our own republic, but indeed for the country as a whole.

#### Considerable Restrictions

Our large potential for development lies in strengthening the strategy of the Yugoslav sense of community, above all concerning the programs for development through export. In SR Croatia programs should be prepared which have importance to the development of Yugoslavia as a whole and which afford an opportunity for bringing resources and energies together for more effective development. These are investments in exploration for and development of petroleum and gas, in the development of agricultural production, in the development of tourism, programs in the areas of metal manufacturing, complete engineering jobs, the timber and wood complex and maritime shipping. This presupposes that the economy of SR Croatia will also be included in the development programs of organizations of associated labor from the entire country.

Through pooling and direct relations among economic organizations concerning parts of those programs a policy should be carried out of more rapid development of all areas of the country, especially the economically underdeveloped socialist republics and SAP Kosovo, as well as those which are underdeveloped in our own republic.

In the period between 1986 and 1990, however, we must take very sizable restrictions for granted. The basic restriction is in the field of investments. We are entering into development with very scanty capital and a very small opportunity for investment.



What are the reasons for that? First of all, for a long time in our past development we spent between 6 and 7 percentage points more than we produced, and for that reason in order to pay off debts in the coming period from 1986 to 1990, by contrast, our total opportunity to stand will be 6 to 8 percent less than what we produce. It is a difference of some 15 points by comparison with the earlier period, when we had a very high growth rate, when all forms of expenditure were growing rapidly, when we were truly living beyond our means.

According to all our calculations, which we have conducted very carefully, we will have available for the most necessary investments in the coming period between 55 and a maximum of 50 percent [sic] of the necessary funds which we considered to be the minimum for our future development.

In coming years, along with everything else, we will have a continuing sizable outflow of capital on the basis of obligations abroad. That means that even with rescheduling and with the additional borrowing we will have an outflow of capital on that basis, since we have to reduce the debt by more than \$1 billion if we are to bring the republic's debt below the 25-percent limit, which is one of the important prerequisites for normalizing external relations. In addition, during that period it will still be necessary to pay off the dinar part of the mortgage to the past contained in differences in exchange rates, which for the country as a whole have built up to about 2,300 billion dinars.

Although we still do not know all the figures and mechanisms for repayment of that debt, in planning the available resources we assumed that in the planning period we would set aside for those purposes a minimum of 250 billion dinars in our republic alone, and that is approximately just less than the level of total resources which would have to be invested in the development of the fuel and power industry in the republic over the next 5 years.

Moreover, sizable resources will have to be invested up to the year 1990 in working capital, not only to ensure thereby the necessary dinar liquidity, but at the same time to strengthen the business fund of the organization of associated labor itself and thereby to make it less dependent upon the banking system and the banking mechanism. According to the calculations we have made so far, this amounts to about 280 billion dinars.

We also need to include here the resources that will be necessary to make up losses and solve the problems of organizations which will inevitably go into bankruptcy.

Aside from that, we have to count on sizable investment of resources in the credit financing of sales of our own equipment, ships and work on capital investment projects abroad, even though a portion of these resources is being refinanced by JUBMES [Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation] and even though 50 billion new dinars have been planned for financing sales of equipment and vessels on the domestic market.

We have also counted on investment and pooling of resources to stimulate the faster development of SAP Kosovo and the underdeveloped republics, which we planned at 140 billion dinars.

## Reorientation Toward Exports

It should also be said in this context that the programs for the infrastructure have to have a somewhat different treatment. Unfortunately, we will not be able to provide all the resources necessary to make it possible to solve all the necessary infrastructural problems, even if we were to commit all the capital we have to them. We have to take into account that we need to provide a certain portion of resources for the reorientation toward exports of our industry and economy in general, without which there simply is no future development, since this is our prerequisite for working out the basic structural problems of our economy, i.e., for equipping it to become an active part of world economic flows and technological transformation.

However, in spite of everything, certain minimum resources for development of the infrastructure are necessary, and within that category they are necessary especially for development of the fuel and power industry, since if in the period up to 1990 we omit to make investments and furnish the minimum resources for its development, we will have very scant opportunities for stable development all the way up to the end of this century.

It is obvious on the basis of what we have said that there are very profound reasons requiring a change of the conception and strategy for future development: namely, first, the current economic situation, obligations abroad, domestic shortages, the insufficient effectiveness of development, the realization that up to now we have been using additional foreign capital and that now we must pay off the debts, restore health to the sphere of working capital, and the other things we have talked about. This in qualitative terms is an altogether new situation than there has been in any previous period, which in and of itself cannot help but bring about changes in both the conception and strategy of development.

Other reasons are qualitative, reasons which independently of the first ones require that essential changes of direction be made in the conception and strategy of development, since the extensive and autarkic conception we have had up to now, which is closed toward the rest of the world, with its low efficiency of utilization of social resources and low labor productivity, and thereby also with low and unstimulative personal incomes, has exhausted the vigor of development and simply cannot survive, since it would lead to a deepening not only of the economic and social welfare crisis, but also of the social and indeed then also of the political crisis.

## Solutions Pertaining to the System

In the future the features of the system are a very important factor which can provide support to that kind of development: specifically the planning system, the foreign exchange system, banking, and so on. The essential thing, however, is the concept on which those features of the system will be worked out.

I therefore feel that we must be critical of the solutions proposed, we must demand that the corrections contained in the legislation embodying the system must be based on everything constructive which practice has confirmed and must

be built onto so as to facilitate and stimulate the orientation toward an open economy, toward launching out into the world and strengthening economic and market laws, toward strengthening self-management and the right of organizations of associated labor to deal with their own destiny, to regulate their own mutual relations on that kind of market and in the world in their own interest and in the interest of society as a whole.

Of course, new solutions should always be looked for, and that applies now as well, those which best correspond to this phase of development, to this level of development, and to our system of self-management, and that should also be tried out in practice. It is on that basis that we should seek to overcome differences and objective antagonisms that arise in development. There certainly have been justified criticisms of the low efficiency of our system, its extensiveness, the unjustified notching up of costs, and so on.

### Necessary Changes

Our assessment is that the basic cause of our difficulties is the autarkic conception and strategy of development and the policy conducted on the basis of that conception during this period. It necessarily relies on the negative elements of the system, and in some sense it has also supported them. The conception of an open economy and a development strategy that serves it must and can instill more vigor in the constructive elements of our system. The changes in the system, which are necessary, have to support that concept of development and make it possible to realize it optimally.

The changes in the economic system and in its mechanisms must above all guarantee unhindered operation of the criteria of the domestic and foreign market on the domestic economy, so that workers in their organizations of associated labor will under the pressure of those criteria conduct their economic activity optimally with social resources and make decisions on development and promote the socioeconomic relation of self-management, become aware of the advantages of establishing ties with other organizations of associated labor, and on that basis gradually integrate social labor and thereby at the same time gradually overcome the market's haphazard operation. It is not a matter too unimportant to mention here that the unhindered operation of the criteria of the market, above all the world market, is an extremely important prerequisite and the strongest impetus for raising the productivity and efficiency of our economy toward a level that facilitates optimum inclusion in the international division of labor.

If the view concerning the need to strengthen the mechanisms of the market and economic criteria for economic performance are to be put into operational terms, however, the mechanisms of the economic system whereby the general conditions for realization of income are established must be made to serve the unhindered operation of the criteria of the domestic and foreign market and development of the production relation of self-management based on socialist commodity production. The stabilization of economic flows and reduction of inflation will signify an essential constructive contribution to that development. That would signify at the same time that the general conditions for realization of income must be stable and cannot be the subject of planning in

the sense of changes based on administrative decisions. To a certain extent that also applies to the joint bases and scales for the distribution of income and division of resources for personal incomes, which would basically be set forth in the relevant social compact and self-management accords, which as a rule would cover lengthy periods of time.

That would also determine the relationship between social planning and the market. It is the function of social planning to consciously guide social development and to harmonize relations in social reproduction, thereby among other things helping to overcome the spontaneity of the market in advance and to gradually integrate social labor and broaden the socialist production relation. Relations in social reproduction are harmonized and safeguarded through the plans of all planning entities and through mutual reconciliation of those plans, and the mutual reconciliation of the plans of self-managing organizations and communities is guided and stimulated by the plans of sociopolitical communities, that is, by economic, administrative and other measures within the limits of the rights and duties of the bodies and agencies of individual sociopolitical communities.

In this connection the performance of particular tasks in order to achieve the goals set forth in social plans may be set forth as an obligation of a particular organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization solely on the basis of its consent (under Article 72 of the SFRY Constitution).

#### Conditions for the Conduct of Economic Activity

Proceeding on the basis of the relations between the market and planning so conceived, which arise out of the SFRY Constitution, in our opinion the general conditions for the conduct of economic activity, without any sort of more detailed definition or distinction, cannot be set forth in the social plan, nor can such a right be granted by law. Under conditions when the concept and content of general conditions for economic activity have not been precisely defined, they can also be taken as the general conditions for realizing the income of organizations of associated labor. Yet that kind of interpretation of the general conditions of economic activity would ultimately signify that the operation of the criteria of the domestic and external market could be reduced or eliminated and the general conditions for realizing income might be subjected to voluntaristically established goals of development, which would open up broad opportunities for the philosophy of government intervention in development policy. Yet that kind of solution places the organization of associated labor and associated labor as a whole in an altogether subordinate position with respect to planning.

The need has been felt for a long time now to regulate relations more appropriately between the plans of organizations of associated labor and the plans of sociopolitical communities, and that in such a way that they do not infringe upon the rights of self-managing entities, but figure as a form whereby those rights are exercised.

For that kind of relationship to be fully and unambiguously legislative, the law has to precisely state the functions and the functional content of the plans of all sociopolitical communities. The basic function of the plans of sociopolitical communities ought to be the guidance of overall social development (economic, technological, social welfare and "land use") within the framework of the sociopolitical community.

That commitment or solution regulating the relation between the plans of self-managing organizations and communities and the plans of the sociopolitical communities cannot be replaced by "guidelines of the assembly of the sociopolitical community." The possibility for associated labor to influence the plan of the sociopolitical community would be minimal in such a case.

Guidelines, however, can and must have the function of guiding the preparation of the plans of planning entities and their mutual reconciliation toward achievement of the immediate development goals of the sociopolitical communities and should propose for that purpose the common interests (of the lower-level sociopolitical communities and of self-managing organizations and communities in achieving those development goals, of proposing measures whereby the sociopolitical community would stimulate the pursuit of the common interest in development, along with appropriate criteria governing guidance, and of stating the need and stimulating initiative for preparation and conclusion of agreements and self-management accords to safeguard achievement of the immediate development goals of the sociopolitical community, and all those proposals must be subject to appropriate verification by associated labor in the procedure for reconciliation of plans and in the procedure for concluding self-management accords and agreements concerning the bases of plans.

All that has been said must basically apply as well to the social plans of SR's and SAP's as well as to the social plan of Yugoslavia, except that the special importance of the social plan of Yugoslavia in the totality of the system of social planning arises out of the functions of the Federation set forth in the constitution and out of the breadth and strength of measures in the field of joint economic policy whereby it is possible to stimulate and guide the entire country's development.

#### What Kind of Foreign Exchange System

Under the provisions of the SFRY Constitution, that is, the social plan of Yugoslavia "is based on an agreement among the working people, organizations of associated labor, self-managing communities of interest and other self-managing organizations and communities and also on an agreement among the republics and autonomous provinces concerning economic policy of common interest" (first paragraph), and the social plan of Yugoslavia "on the basis of reconciled common interests shall set forth the joint economic policy and shall accordingly guide social reproduction on the foundations of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management." Those provisions of the constitution have also been confirmed in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

The result of the overall effect of the operation of the foreign exchange system should be continuation of the constructive processes that have begun in

the orientation toward exports and a spreading of those processes to as many entities as possible. That is why the concept of the foreign exchange system should be adjusted to the needs of the expansion of exports, since unless all organizations of associated labor have a specific interest, it is not possible to build an economy oriented toward exports. At the same time that concept should also respect the objective situation in the most underdeveloped republics and Province of Kosovo, the situation with respect to their foreign exchange liquidity and the level of their foreign exchange obligations. There is also a need to establish an effective system of solidarity, which means greater participation of organizations of associated labor from the advanced areas, among them significantly from SR Croatia as well, in alleviating their foreign exchange problems, opening up for them prospects for becoming involved in export activities as the basis for joint and comprehensive development in the general interest.

These features of an effective foreign exchange system have also defined the prerequisites for every entity to launch out into the world successfully and at the same time take on responsibility for his own orientation and the general orientation in development, whereby the processes of necessary integration at the level of Yugoslavia would also be supported.

#### New Relations

The other issues which ought to be critically analyzed have to do with how capable we are for such a development program and such a concept of launching out into the world. That is, we now must above all undertake an analysis of all the prerequisites which have to be dealt with if we are to program our development based on expansion of exports in a different, new and qualitatively better way.

Our assessment of the situation in which we now find ourselves and our commitments concerning development based on that start with realistic assessments to the effect that we have to utilize the resources we have considerably differently and better, not just mechanically better, but also use resources and capacities better, and at the same time restructure them in connection with the changes which are necessary for launching out into the world. Those changes should contain all the elements whose influence carried from the world market to us must have a constructive effect in the sense of production orientation and then technology, organization, applied science and knowledge. Those are very large changes. The question immediately intrudes of how well we are organized for launching out into the world?

#### Reassessment of the Level of Organization

It is also from that standpoint that we should reassess trade, science and education, from which we must reassess design organizations and the level of organization in all organizations of associated labor. We have to look at their division of labor, are they capable of launching out into the world in that way and of taking over the function of that kind of development?

That is, one of the basic prerequisites in the functioning of our system is the formation of organizations of associated labor and their integration, but not a mechanical joining together. New qualitative aspects must be imparted to the formation of associations between them, which means shaping the relevant common functions capable of handling marketing, the market, development, financial operations, and so on. From that standpoint LC organizations should initiate a demand for reassessment of the level of organization in every organization of associated labor and for bringing it into conformity with development policy.

Another big problem we have is the efficiency of utilization of our capacities. It is very poor, so that we still have a bigger gap between the best world achievement in efficiency of utilization of capacity than exists between us and the rest of the world with respect to labor productivity.

This includes reassessment of the preparation of work both in the broad and in the narrow sense of the word. The question is how all our lines are functioning between trade, development, technology, and the organization of work between one production capacity and another, between one shop and another, between one basic organization of associated labor and another, especially when increasingly sophisticated products are undertaken. That leads to the question of responsibility for the joint product and the bearing of risks embodied in that joint product.

The point of this is to see all the things that should be changed in our relations, how well equipped we are for the various functions--here I am thinking particularly of the maximum introduction of electronics, and the kind of motivation people have to bring our quality up to the most up-to-date development, which is what we have to get into and to which there is no alternative.

Our concept of development based on launching out into the world, and that virtually immediately, calls for urgent reassessment of the capability and attractiveness of our products, of their design, our engineering and our design features from the standpoint of not only long-range, but also short-range, penetration of certain markets.

According to our analyses and what we have learned so far, this will require immense efforts to equip a large number of the products of our organizations of associated labor to go out into the world, to alter the physiognomy of existing product mixes and to abandon some of them, to master new products which will be entirely competitive on the world market, and that means not only in design, engineering, but also in price, delivery dates, product quality, and so on. That means that that kind of development presupposes a considerably greater flexibility on the part of our economy for rapid assimilation of new technologies and products. This means that the entire scientific research and technological potential should be committed to speeding up the process of change, change that would include adopting, mastering and applying foreign technology, developing and upgrading it, and facilitating and promoting the development of our own technology.

## Specialization and the Division of Labor

That, of course, makes it imperative to set forth a joint strategy for Yugoslavia's scientific and technological development and on that basis to state the appropriate specialization and division of labor in scientific and technological development. But at the same time it calls for each of us to reassess his own respective orientation, his own organization and inclusion in the development programs of organizations of associated labor which are the prerequisites for their launching out into the world. We have 146 scientific research and 170 design organizations, which unfortunately, if one sets aside only a few of the large ones among them which have the necessary critical mass of knowledge, are incapable of reproduction. The underdevelopment of the research potential in the economy can best be seen in the fact that it includes only five institutes which have the status of a scientific organization and seven R&D centers which have the status of a scientific unit, and they account for only about 16 percent of all of our republic's researchers.

At our level of development an altogether different alignment would be appropriate to the needs of the next stage, i.e., at least two-thirds of R&D forces should be in the applied and applicative sciences, related in the most direct way to the programs of organizations of associated labor. This calls for an urgent reassessment of total R&D personnel, the adequacy of their equipment, their orientation, their distribution, and for taking the appropriate steps in that connection.

On that basis and from the same standpoint one should reassess the place, role and function of the universities both from the standpoint of the development of the fundamental sciences and also from that of their most direct inclusion in our society's development need, both from the standpoint of development and assimilation of new technologies and also from the standpoint of altering the structure of courses of study and the number of personnel being trained in the next period. The kind of development we have projected will mean that we must also have the corresponding personnel, but unfortunately we do not have them, especially in the most important areas of development, neither at the necessary level or quality, nor indeed even in quantity. There is nothing left for us to do but to quickly educate the specialists we have and to create new personnel right on the job.

Specific material incentives should guarantee achievement of greater results and greater success with the present personnel pattern. That is why we must initiate a process of differentiation of the more successful organizations, the more successful activities, the more successful smaller units and the more successful individuals.

Given the present-day conception of launching out into the world, we must turn more toward those countries which represent our potential trading partner and ally, whose interests are very similar to our interests and who need partners in their development, since we also need such a partner for our own development. As for the developing countries, we should propose solutions to them, beginning with technology, engineering, and designs, all the way to the organization of production and the training of their personnel, and so on.



## Specific Programs

At the same time that we program our launching out into the world and organize the network for making it possible to realize that conception, we also have to reassess our level of organization concerning export programs. A number of activities are already under way which in certain basic directions have either begun or have already yielded certain results along the line of our organizing ourselves differently for better performance in carrying out exporting tasks.

The organizational work is now being done for offering complete engineering projects and transactions, above all through the business community INGRA, which within itself should bind together much more firmly design and construction organizations, producers of equipment and assemblers around such programs, and they need not be from our own republic, but should be enterprises from all over Yugoslavia brought together around the appropriate specialized programs.

We need to continue the process already begun of changes in the timber and lumber complex, which we dare not leave with the formation of the business community "EKSPORTDRVO," which was only the first step. Carrying out a development program based on launching out into the world requires very large changes both in the basic production and technology and also in the super-structure, from joint marketing and design to a joint export product.

We should continue the processes of reorganizing and consolidating the tourist organizations and of linking them to the agroindustrial complex and of joint formation of an export product that together with industry, especially consumer goods, should make up a composite export product that would be part of our total tourist offering.

We certainly should continue the constructive processes of linking together the petroleum industry, the petrochemical industry and agriculture into a production chain from throughout the country to achieve competence for exporting products with the highest possible level of processing and for fully satisfying the needs of our country's development.

On that same basis we should continue to develop the principles and organizational forms already achieved in reaching agreement in the petroleum industry, petroleum refining, among producers of marine equipment and contractors working on capital investment projects concerning the long-term securing of imports of petroleum and gas necessary not only to our republic, but also to the country as a whole, while at the same time guaranteeing the payments by exporting our products, which at the same time frequently represent a way of solving the technological problems in development of the country from which we are importing those products. It is on that basis that we should reassess our level of organization and competence with respect to all the other programs that make it possible to go out into the world.

The development of small business must contribute to a considerable extent to overall development, to raising efficiency and employment, and it must rely on large-scale organizations of associated labor and large production systems. This means that small business must and should find its place in industry,

agriculture, tourism, transportation and other sectors, since it can employ many people and contribute to raising efficiency and performance in trade with foreign countries.

But at the same time we should also critically analyze and reassess our entire self-management and social organization, which very often is numerically hypertrophied, personnel are fragmented, and in terms of quality they are incapable of performing any sort of serious function in our society's development.

Many examples could be referred to in this regard, but I will use one which shows in the most striking way what this looks like in one of our regions. In the republic's agroindustrial complex we have 246 different organizational forms and different types of organizations, from chambers to business communities. The observation can be made without any great analysis that this is very inefficient and essentially not only puts a material burden on associated labor, but also drains off the personnel so necessary from the principal work which they ought to be employed on in the context of the tasks of our development.

An important job awaits us in the establishment and development of direct relations between the economy and social service activities, an area in which we must promote the free exchange of labor more rapidly and consistently. In that context we emphasize the need to reassess the level of organization in the health service with a view toward more optimum division of labor and specialization and toward greater efficiency in the use of personnel and equipment, in which very large resources have already been invested.

In the field of culture we have been achieving definite results in bringing diverse cultural activities closer to the working people and particularly to young people. Our experience to date can serve as our guide in the further advancement and enrichment of cultural activities with content proper to our sociopolitical system and the prospects for our society's development.

It is becoming a necessity for us to have to accept economic criteria and stack them against world developments and in that direction open processes up, since they are now shut off. This also means initiating freer movement of capital outside the organization of associated labor and outside the work organization, but also outside the opstina and outside the republic. We take the view that the application of economic criteria, the orientation toward an open economy, and the orientation toward launching out into the world must in and of themselves act to redirect a portion of resources, assuming the appropriate long-term and short-term economic policy.

The organization, functioning and business operation of the Associated Bank of Croatia, basic banks and other financial organizations must be aimed at carrying out the established development policy. In particular, strength must be given to the pooling of resources of organizations of associated labor to carry out development programs and in that sense the function of the banks should be developed to stimulate the pooling of labor and resources, especially in the preparation and performance of export programs.

In the stage of drafting plans and programs for development and in carrying them out a reassessment must be made of the activity and level of organization of banking organizations, the role of internal banks should be especially strengthened, and in general the internal banks should be bolstered in terms of organization and personnel so that these banks fit properly and effectively into the country's banking system.

In the coming period measures will be undertaken toward a further qualitative strengthening of administrative, inspection and judicial authorities. In the course of last year the Assembly of SR Croatia adopted a program for further improvement of the quality of law enforcement agencies, and initial measures have been taken this year to solve structural problems in territorial defense. Proposals are now being prepared for optimum organization in terms of personnel and professional skills and for modernization of all other administrative and judicial entities as an integral part of the next medium-term plan. The analytical groundwork and computations we have done show that it is possible--assuming the broadest sociopolitical support--to achieve the goals that have been set even in this area, while at the same time the real annual growth of resources would be less than the real growth of the social product.

#### Commitment of All Energies

And finally, we should also debate in this conference and establish whether the basic concept of the development of SR Croatia that is offered, that is contained in the documents referred to, which may be supplemented, detailed, and so on, offer solutions for emerging from the present economic difficulties, that is, for overcoming the present unfavorable situation, and in future for creating a modern economy capable of becoming an active and equal participant in the international division of labor. If we agree that the conception and strategy of development offered are correct, and in our opinion that is the case, then we should enlist party members and all other subjective forces in carrying it out consistently and thereby build new relations, a new personnel policy, and a new organization of work.

In specific terms this means that the Economic Chamber of SR Croatia and the general associations would organize activities that would lead in the direction of organizations of associated labor making a more intensive effort to draft development programs on the basis of the agreed conception, with the basic orientation toward programs oriented toward exports, while at the same time they would also examine and adopt proposals for organizational and other changes and solutions that would guarantee fulfillment of those programs.

It would be a particular activity of the Republic Council for Affairs of the Social System, the Republic Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy, the Commission of the Croatian Assembly for Implementing the Law on Associated Labor, the Federation of Trade Unions, the Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Youth League and other institutions to organize the drafting and proposal of solutions and conditions for achieving efficient organization of the economy and advancement of organization more broadly in society. The effort should also be intensified to establish conditions for the conduct of economic activity which would make it possible to carry out the conception of

development adopted and to support the drafting of programs on the basis of that conception.

This would also include an analysis of the various sectors of the economic system and necessary changes in the laws embodying the system, and, in particular, work on the affairs of the monetary-credit and banking system and matters related to organization of banking in SR Croatia, as well as work on the problems of expanded reproduction and the planning system.

All of these investments and organizations, along with everyone else, should discuss in an organized way the results of the effort in these areas, and all of this should be done in such a way that the activities performed to prepare new development plans will achieve the broadest mobilization of all segments of the economy and society.

Inclusion of the delegate system as a whole and of each of its parts in all of the activities associated with the preparation, drafting and adoption of development plans means rounding out the entire efforts on this important task. One way in which it should help is finding optimum solutions for the objective material and development problems and trade-offs. The delegate system should in the end evaluate and verify development plans, the relevant changes in the system and the legislation and thereby assume responsibility for their enactment and for their performance, Ante Markovic said in conclusion.

[Box, p 4, left]

#### Immediate Goals

We are basing our concept of development on agreements and on conclusion of accords from organizations of associated labor to Yugoslavia as a whole, on the strengthening of self-management rights, and not by any means on administrative decisions. Everyone has to prove that he is capable of taking responsibility for a certain aspect of development. We cannot grant the right to development nor the right to the capability for development. Everyone has to prove it on his own. And when he has proved it, let us support him as a society in becoming a vehicle for development for the republic and all of Yugoslavia consistent with the requirements of the present-day division of labor.

Our point of departure here are the lasting goals and the direction of our society's socioeconomic development which has been set down in basic public acts and documents of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, at the center of which stand the ongoing and comprehensive development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management, the stable and lasting rise of the standard of living and ever more complete and abundant satisfaction of the personal and community needs of the working people and citizens, increasing the overall efficiency and level of organization of the economy and society along with optimalization of economic growth, and the defense and protection of territorial integrity, the independent development of a socialist self-governing society, and natural, material and cultural resources.

Our commitments concerning development find full support in the Conclusions of the 16th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

The immediate goals and tasks of our republic's material and overall social development for the period up to 1990 are also directed toward achievement of those goals.

First, initiation of the process of building a highly productive and efficient economy capable of generating, accepting and disseminating scientific-technological, organizational and economic advances of present-day development, above all by augmenting exports of goods and services and through comprehensive inclusion in the processes of transformation taking place in the rest of the world.

Second, strengthening the role and responsibility of basic economic entities in the process of social reproduction, harmonization of domestic economic flows and an essential slowing down of inflation through greater operation of economic laws and by increasing efficiency.

Third, halt the drop and then achieve a rise of real personal incomes, so that by 1990 they are in line with the rise of labor productivity, along with more consistent application of remuneration according to the results of work.

Fourth, achieve gradual growth of employment and creation of conditions for greater productive involvement of the able-bodied population.

Achievement of these goals will contribute to a better quality of development of the socioeconomic relations of self-management in the future, a strengthening of the position and responsibility of the workers for their own and for society's development in the context of the operation of economic laws, by taking mastery over the conditions for realization and distribution of income, over prices, over foreign economic relations, over expanded reproduction, as well as in satisfying community needs through the relations of free exchange of labor, whereby they assume full responsibility for the development and business results of their own organization of associated labor and of society as a whole.

[Box, p 4, right]

#### The Foreign Exchange System

The concept of a foreign exchange system that would clearly spell out the support of the system for realization of the commitments concerning development which have been presented should contain at least four stimulative elements:

- i. motivation of exporters to achieve ever greater export performance;
- ii. support for the processes of pooling and establishment of linkage concerning joint export programs;

iii. the opportunity for the workers to make decisions on their own development based on the results they have achieved themselves;

iv. a policy concerning borrowing abroad and a limit on such borrowing in the framework of the capabilities and responsibility of borrowers to furnish the foreign exchange to repay the credit.

The features contained in the foreign exchange system must be aimed at achieving the commitments contained in the Stabilization Program and the Conclusions of the 17th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

[Box, p 5]

#### Personnel and Knowledge

What is most important, what will be most difficult to solve, and what will take the most time, that is man. We will have a greater and greater shortage of personnel who possess the adequate quantum of knowledge, who have the appropriate work habits, respect for work, for the workplace, people who are ready to work in an organized way, as part of a team. Which leads to the observation that actually in the fundamental areas which should guarantee this new reorientation of ours we do not have a sufficient critical mass of personnel, a sufficient critical mass of knowledge capable of taking that kind of development upon itself.

The question, finally, is the kind of role the subjective factor is to play in our development. I think that a great opportunity and obligation for a new standard in the development of the League of Communists and all the subjective forces lies in this kind of development program we have and in creating new qualitative aspects of work and life. They should commit themselves to the development programs and set in motion the working people, self-management and professional management entities, professionals and scientists and institutions, so that a qualitative differentiation is affirmed and carried out through their performance. We are not referring to a platonic statement of position, but to a creative approach displayed in concrete terms concerning the tasks which have to be performed to acquire the competence for the qualitatively new development on the basis of launching out into the world.

But at the same time this also means that there must be people in the League of Communists at the level required--people who are ideologically equipped, better organized, who understand socioeconomic developments and who on that basis can wage the fight for development of political ideology. We are talking about the totality of the knowledge of the organization of the League of Communists; knowledge must be built up within it capable of explaining to people and mobilizing them to undertake programs of this kind in which they are to win the battle for new quality.

Second Day's Proceedings

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 85 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ljubomir Cucic and others summarizing the second day of the proceedings of the Third Conference of the League of Communists of Croatia held in Zagreb on 17-18 May 1985: "Faster Development Through Larger Exports"]

[Text] The Third Conference of the League of Communists of Croatia has completed its 2-day work. The conference was attended by 321 delegates and guests, and 74 participated in the discussion. In the very wide ranging and all-inclusive discussion of the political-ideological aspects of the conception of Croatia's long-term development up to 1990 the opinion was strongly expressed that the next planning period is crucial to overcoming the difficulties that have accumulated in the economic development of SR Croatia and the entire country. It was emphasized that in coming years decisive changes have to be made in the quality of the conduct of economic activity as a basis for faster and more reliable development over a more lengthy period of time.

For all of these reasons medium-term plans must pursue the line of a development policy which is to equip the economy and all associated labor for larger and more effective exporting. A growth of exports, it was emphasized, will facilitate larger and better production, faster creation of new jobs, higher efficiency and larger income, and a rise in the standard of living, and more rapid development of the productive forces and self-management.

The discussion confirmed that there is no progress without more stimulation of work and the results of work of individuals in scientific research teams and in production, since better results will not be forthcoming in either income or development without greater reliance on our own intelligence.

The participants in the conference pledged that party members in physical production would be initiators of reliance on science and research work. A call was also issued for stronger stimulation of work and the results of work and reliance on our own intelligence.

It was pointed out that we have done too little to put in operation vertical reproduction entities extending over all of Yugoslavia. It was also said that group-ownership relations and the private sector are eating away social ownership. It is not uncommon for private wealth to be fed from social property. It was also noted that at a time when the standard of living is dropping, workers who live solely from their work are protecting capital which is not in the hands of the workers, yet we are not protecting labor. We can no longer tolerate enrichment not achieved through labor, it was emphasized.

The entire discussion of the delegates [made it clear that] it is the obligation of party members in their workplaces and where they live to continue in their own LC organizations the critical debate concerning their own work and business operation, efficiency, export potential, better organization, work discipline and technological discipline, and so on.

The delegates at the conference accepted the report on the work of the Croatian LC Central Committee between the second and third conferences and the work program of the Croatian LC Central Committee between now and the holding of the 10th Croatian LC Congress.

#### [Summary of the Discussion]

The hardened revolutionary Marko Belinic was among the first to go to the speaker's platform on the second day of the proceedings of the Croatian LC Conference, drawing spontaneous applause as he did so. When reference is made to the political-ideological aspects of our development, and that is the conference's topic, what I mean by that is entire total activity for man, for the organized strength of the working class, Belinic said. Everything that is done is done for man, and it is the task of the League of Communists to put that man in a position in which he will affirm himself and confirm himself as the protagonist of development. Even our intelligentsia is today an integral part of the working class and constitutes one of its particular attributes. In Belinic's words, the young generation should be offered conditions of carrying on the development of society as a whole, and not only the development of the economy, since the League of Communists is also the protagonist of overall development. It is the task of the League of Communists to equip every member to be a protagonist of development as an individual. And if we are to go forward successfully, the production relation must be set up as a class relation, a worker and revolutionary relation, so that the working class is in a position of making decisions on expanded reproduction, so that it is the master of its own labor. SR Croatia can develop successfully only if all of Yugoslavia develops successfully, and that is why harmonious elements need to be found for the development of all the republics and provinces. Belinic concluded by recalling the recent military parade in Belgrade, which demonstrated our power, which was created by our own intelligence, our own technology and our own working class.

#### Income From the Possession of Money [Mladen Zuvela]

The very fact that we selected for our third conference the problems of development is gratifying and instills confidence, Mladen Zuvela said at the beginning of his speech. It is gratifying because it indicates that we have gotten out of the state of mind in which we were far more concerned about how to maintain the volume of production in the face of shortages and how to provide what was necessary for the normal life of society and people. We were much more concerned about that than about the questions of development. That situation is now behind us, but it was not overcome automatically, without action by the League of Communists.

Zuvela went on to speak specifically about certain political-ideological aspects of development to which in his opinion the League of Communists must devote much more attention. It is a fact, he said, that today extremely large resources in our country are in the hands of private operators and that on the basis of our own decisions, whose purpose was to preserve the value of past labor, those resources make it possible for them to realize income through the possession of money. We have to acknowledge that a production relation is



creeping into our life which is contrary to our historical goals, Zuvella warned, backing up this assertion with the datum that last year the total savings of individuals amounted to 1,896 billion dinars, which is more than the grand total of personal incomes paid in the socialized sector.

Exchange rate differences and interest last year amounted to 411 billion dinars, 24 percent of total savings and 26 percent of the total annual sum of personal incomes in the socialized sector. In one large credit institution 45 percent of all the resources are owned by 4 percent of the depositors, and only 1 out of every 4 owners of a foreign exchange savings account obtained those funds by working abroad. One serious difficulty, Zuvella said, is that earnings from employment have been dropping year after year, while property and income from property are becoming an important factor in the social and material position of individuals and families, which violates one of the basic postulates to the effect that the contribution of present and past labor should be the principal criterion and measure of man's position in society. If these processes continue, it will not be possible either today or tomorrow to strengthen the linkage and motivation of workers or work. Another serious difficulty is the fact that a portion of those resources, which are today both legally and in fact the resources of individuals, has been siphoned out of the socialized sector of labor.

Presenting a proposal that perhaps this is a good reason why professional teams ought to work out a possibility for revaluation of credit, Zuvella presented figures to support the assertion that private wealth is being fed from the labor of the associated workers and to their detriment. The product, he said, whose price has risen the most over the last 5 years is bread. In 1979, that is, one had to work 14 minutes for a kilogram of bread, but last year 29 minutes. More than anything else that indicates the position of the proletarian parts of society, Zuvella emphasized.

Protect Labor, Not Capital [Stipe Suvar]

Unless a fierce battle is waged for development of the relations of associated labor and unless the League of Communists is capable of waging that fight and the rank and file of the party is capable of operating much more powerfully at the social base of development, Stipe Suvar said, we will not have [development], but we will continue to face stagnation. Today another line has crept even into the League of Communists, the line of departure from the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. The bulk of the social surplus value of labor is functioning independently in the credit system, and decisions concerning it are made by factors outside associated labor, who have set themselves up as a technobureaucratic monopoly. This other way, the way of interest, which in no case leads forward along the road of socialist self-management, still prevails.

In one stage of our earlier development we got an enterprise that went its own way, an upsurge of managerial and technobureaucratic management, and in politics various "isms" which dress themselves out in nationalistic clothing in the fight to regionalize the surplus value of labor. The problems of investments, of inflation, of borrowing, and so on, are specifically ours, and we

have to solve them as our own problems, not by any means with the methods of the economic policy of capitalism, and that from an earlier phase of capitalism itself. It does not stabilize us on the road of socialism to introduce some sort of three markets which many are advocating: the commodity market, the capital market and the labor market. The first of those markets we must strengthen and develop, but provided that it is organized by associated labor, while we must do away with the other two in our internal relations, do away with the elements of them which remain.

There is no way out unless we change quite a few things in the social system. But that does not mean, as many people are shouting today, that we should change any of the foundations of the political system. Social relations are not as they were written down in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, but they are remnants of an older system. The most essential thing for the new system of relations, unless we want to gamble with our destiny and with the prospects of socialism in our country, is the kind of process by which integration takes place in the country. We have to develop through an integration of labor, but not of capital, through the forces of associated labor, not by force of the government or the market. We can develop Yugoslavia and Croatia within it only by passing on decisionmaking to associated labor. We cannot develop even Croatia through confrontations within Yugoslavia, by seeking and emphasizing some particular accounts of our own which are not also calculations in the interest of all in Yugoslavia. But we have to be uncompromising and unrelenting in the fight for the new social relations.

#### Greater Influence of Young People

We can develop only through further socialization of labor and resources, not by seeking salvation in ways that would lead toward much broader expansion of private enterprise in the direction of small-owner socialism. I am not referring here to the private sector which does not exploit the labor of others. It should be supported, but the direction should be linkage with socialized production. Our present tax system and interest rate policy have been tending to augment class differences and to give more protection to private capital than to labor. This is counterrevolutionary, and the League of Communists must distance itself from it.

[Mile Culina]

Mile Culina, delegate from Drnis, called attention to the difficulties of one of the least developed opstinas in Croatia, which in 1959 had higher employment than last year. The loss of jobs which occurred when the bauxite mine closed down has still not been made up. Several production plants and infrastructural projects have been built through the Republic Fund for Development of Underdeveloped Regions, but this is still too little to be able to mitigate the problems of unemployment.

[Vilim Blaskovic]

In the Bjelovar Community of Opstinas work organizations have not yet begun serious preparations of new medium-term development plans, said Vilim

Blaskovic, mentioning that it is nevertheless possible to "recognize" work organizations in which people are living well, but in which there is no development nor creation of new jobs. He is inclined to the assessment that in the new planning period there will not be money for large investment projects. The essence of the new development policy does not lie in building new smokestacks, but in "smoke coming out around the clock" from those which exist. The essential thing is better capacity utilization. In the Bjelovar region, for example, 80 percent of the wood industry is not working on a third shift at all.

[Vlado Matijasic]

Society's future development depends above all on the young generation, Vlado Matijasic emphasized, but we also have to deal with the fact that the young generation does not have much influence on social development. Matijasevic [sic] issued a reminder of a concern felt by young people because of the intensified stratification of society, and he opposed the creation of jobs for purposes of welfare and advocated the creation of new productive jobs.

Limiting Circumstances [Zvonimir Vrbanc]

Zvonimir Vrbanc defined three priority tasks in carrying out the medium-term plan: greater utilization of natural resources and of productive and human potential. He warned that the overall efficiency of investments is steadily deteriorating, capacity and working capital are underutilized, and labor productivity is falling. Vrbanc also recalled the obvious paradox of the steady improvement in the composition of the labor force with respect to skill and qualifications, while the quality of work declines, the growth of the creative potential in society, while we are continuing to import licenses, and so on. He also recalled the emphasis which the medium-term plan placed on the need for larger agricultural production, better organized tourism and a stronger maritime orientation for our country.

[Ante Markovic]

Ante Markovic agreed with those speeches which stated that we dare not be satisfied with the projected growth rate, but he also called attention to the real capabilities of the economy, which are such as to essentially restrict that rate. He also reacted to demands for a broadening of the program, feeling that here again the possibilities are limited, again for the same reasons. He sees the growth of exports to be the only possibility for a higher growth rate, and if we want to achieve the necessary rate, the growth rate of exports would have to be 20 percent higher than the 12 percent projected. Turning to the circumstances which put limits on stronger economic expansion, Markovic called attention to the circumstances of the entire world economy, which as a whole has numerous problems and various limiting factors, which must in turn have an impact on our own inroads onto the world market. He gave the example of the quite successful work organizations which because of the tightened limits on the world market have only about 50 percent of what they could produce for export. He also recalled shipbuilding, which exports 90 percent of its products, since he feels that even exports as effective as those will be

encountering new difficulties because of the tighter world market and that the wood manufacturing industry must also count on difficulties.

Markovic also recalled our country's favorable economic position, which offers us an occasion to become a more effective part of Europe's unified traffic flows, but he again mentioned that we do not have sufficient resources to make full use of that geographic advantage. Markovic then advocated the most optimum possible approach to development programs, which would also include various economic reorientations, all on behalf of the economy of SR Croatia and of our entire country becoming a part of the world market as effectively as possible.

#### Priority to the Socialized Sector

Turning to the dilemmas expressed in the discussion concerning the place, role and scope of the private sector, Markovic first called attention to certain facts which have to be faced, for example, the figure to the effect that 85 percent of the farmland is in private hands, the fact of the capital of our workers temporarily employed abroad, or, better put, those who have returned to the country, but he also called attention to the need for us to develop the private sector in harmony with the capabilities and real needs of society, unfailingly making the necessary corrections in tax policy as part of this. Markovic feels that at this point the problem is not in the private sector, but in the socialized sector, to which we must give priority and which in its much more effective forms must displace all those private initiatives which society does not need and which could cause it definite harm.

Markovic feels that in our situation we should not make a fetish either of a market economy, nor a consensus economy, nor a government economy, nor should they be underestimated, but rather we should stick to a real assessment to the effect that there is no pure economy anywhere, and that also applies to our own economic framework. He feels that we must combine all three of these forms, and that in such a way that through market relations we will enter into confrontation with the world market, and then because of that necessary confrontation we will reach agreement with one another, and we will acknowledge the government in that context as a corrective.

[Magda Pavic]

Magda Pavic spoke about the causes of nonfulfillment of plans in the agroindustrial complex of the Bjelovar Community of Opstinas, which in her estimation lie above all in the unrealistic targets they contained and the irresponsible approach to the tasks that were set forth. The medium-term goals of future development, Magda Pavic emphasized, have to be based on the comparative advantages of individual entities, they have to be realistic, and scientific research organizations must be the proponents of the new programs that will guarantee larger income, better capacity utilization, less expensive production, creation of more jobs, and what is most important--exports.

#### Avoid Autarky [Ana Zitko and Djuro Petrovic]

Ana Zitko from the island of Vis spoke about the island's development and about the problems faced by its population. There are only 850 workers employed on Vis, she emphasized, but the island economy continues to be burdened with fragmentation and disconnectedness. Djuro Petrovic of Gracac supported the concept of an open economy, but only if the precondition is met of further development of self-management and of the power of the working class. He also advocated a greater presence of young people in decisionmaking processes, production processes, and the definition of development plans. It is an important obligation of all LC members to open up prospects and mobilize the people to carry out the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. Many people do not like our revolutionary commitments, but we have the strength to break down that kind of resistance.

#### [Josip Budimir]

Josip Budimir, a university student from Osijek, asserted that the behavior of a portion of the members of the League of Communists is another hindrance to future development. Often the debate in the basic organizations of the LC is the way it ought to be done in meetings of organs of the LC, and here on the other hand subjects are discussed which ought to be debated in the party rank and file. Never in any development plan up to now have we committed ourselves to autarky, but in practice everything has nevertheless pursued a different direction. We have to do everything so that the upcoming plans do not experience a fate like that as well. Budimir also advocated greater inclusion of young people in the planning process, since, as he put it, it is primarily their future.

#### The Creative Intelligentsia in the Foreground [Enver Sehovic]

Enver Sehovic, delegate of Zagreb University, spoke in favor of the greater attention which the League of Communists must pay to the creative intelligentsia. He recalled the period 10 years ago when educational institutions at the university level initiated a number of actions which did not bear fruit, so that, as he put it, when the results were faulty, party members collected the scars, and the points were scored by those who wanted to drive a wedge between the intelligentsia and the party. Feeling that the LC must abandon the one-sided approach to events at the university, which very often comes down to the question of what the rightwing or leftwing is doing or to the question of whether the students are in revolt, Sehovic advocated a program and action, changes in the economy and outside the economy, with respect to their relationship to higher education, that will actually place the creative intelligentsia in the foreground.

#### [Dusan Guina]

In the recent tax changes the opstinas gave up the abundant sources of revenues, and in return they were given very debatable sources of revenues such as the taxes on sales of automobiles and alcoholic beverages. The drop in the standard of living will leave the opstinas without the revenues they need.

Calling attention to these circumstances, Dusan Guina of Metkovic also raised the issue of opstina revenue administrations, which he feels cannot fulfill expectations, partly because of poor staffing, but also because of the way in which they are financed, since it makes it possible for the work communities of revenue departments to behave separately from the other departments of the opstina administration in the distribution of personal incomes.

[Radomir Babic]

The metal manufacturing industry is essential to Karlovac. Radomir Babic spoke about the difficulties in this branch, emphasizing that two pronounced problems need to be solved in the future development of that activity: making up for the lag in technological development and speeding up sales, if possible, by forming a special fund for credit financing sales of capital goods in Yugoslavia, as has been done to market goods on foreign markets.

[Cedo Peket]

The last participant in the discussion, Cedo Peket of the "Osijek" Industrial and Agricultural Combine, a complex organization of associated labor extending over 4 opstinas with a landholding of 62,000 hectares, called attention to the erroneous decisions in the past which have been harmful to the farm sector as a whole. He called particular attention to the discontinuation of the so-called "feed money" for the development of animal husbandry. Mistakes like that dare not be repeated. Otherwise domestic agriculture will not become a strong exporter, but will remain merely a source of raw materials for the advanced part of the world.

Written statements were contributed to the discussion by the following: Nikola Jukic, Zoran Vitez, Branko Barta, Marko Markusi, Zarko Busic, Milivoj Majnaric, Ivan Gracan, Bogdan Obradovic, Josip Stulina, Ivan Leskovic and Teodor Zoric.

Other participants in the discussion included Zivko Lazinica, Franjo Kralik, Svetozar Matic, Petar Momcilovic, Romana Mrkovic, Mladen Kruljac, Desanka Radic, Toso Lazarevic, Antun Repcic and Marija Jurisic.

[Closing Address by Mika Spiljak]

At the end of the 2 days of proceedings of the Third Conference of the Croatian LC Mika Spiljak spoke, proposing that conclusions be adopted on the basis of the discussion (in which 62 delegates and guests participated and 12 presented their statements in writing) and the proposal of conclusions to be adopted at the next meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee.

Spiljak then emphasized the way in which the delegates had received the introductory address by Ante Markovic and the guidelines concerning further development of SR Croatia. The discussion demonstrated, Spiljak said, that we are aware of the good conditions in which we work and live, and now we face the task of working them out, of tackling the job. Many comrades have called for development plans to be more ambitious, Spiljak said, for greater developmental

ambitions to be incorporated in them than those offered in the introductory address and the guidelines. The documents are not a hindrance to anyone. Collectives and communities which can do more, let them plan more, but the plans must be realistic, Spiljak emphasized.

Spiljak stressed that the unanimously expressed demand from many communities that we find the solutions with our own energies, rather than seeking them outside, confirms the self-confidence of the delegates who participated in the 2 days of proceedings of the third conference. These encouraging appeals are certainly constructive, Spiljak continued, and he called attention to the fact that the discussion showed a decisive orientation of organizations toward exporting, which up to now has not been sufficiently confirmed in practice. Numerous good suggestions were also made in the discussion concerning the effort of many bodies and agencies and organizations from basic organizations to the opstina and the republic, which certainly must be taken into account in the future effort. The conference also showed the kind of features of the system we need at the level of Yugoslavia in order to move forward more rapidly.

This conference needs to be a guidepost for all party members to wage a winning fight for clear directions of future development within their own organizations and bodies of the Croatian LC, so that all of this is not left here in this room, on paper, but becomes reality, everyday practice, Mika Spiljak concluded.

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CSO: 2800/341

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

NEW TANK, ANTIAIRCRAFT GUN--In only 3 years the Yugoslav weapons and military equipment industry, with the help of subcontractors from work organizations throughout the country, has mastered production of a new Yugoslav tank. Six thousand new technologies and 152 new types of material were used in its manufacture. Compared to the licensed model, the Yugoslav tank is much more modern and uses so-called sandwich armor and antineutron defense. The tank has a three-member crew; it is armed with the largest tank cannon--125 millimeters; and it has among the lowest silhouettes of tanks in current use. The tank's engine is multifueled, which means that it can burn various types of fuel without modification. In addition to good sighting equipment, the tank employs systems that protect it from hostile detection. The domestically produced tank carries a domestic laser rangefinder, fire-control system, computer and other equipment that significantly enhances its fighting effectiveness. At this year's parade [held in Belgrade on 9 May] a new antiaircraft gun with two 30-mm barrels was presented for the first time. This rapid-fire gun is intended above all for shooting at aircraft at medium and high altitudes, but it can be used for other purposes in an armed conflict. The gun is built into a specially constructed dome mounted on a combat armored vehicle of the BOV type. Rapid change of the barrel angle and the motorized rotation of the dome make the gun an important weapon for antiaircraft defense, especially for quick reaction to flying targets. The BOV vehicle gives it great mobility on the ground. [Excerpts] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 85 p 3]

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